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ABSTRACT

This institute report contains the 13 major addresses grouped under (1) the political setting, (2) the fiscal setting, (3) the legal setting, and (4) operational problems. Three speakers first address themselves to the problems inherent in educational governance operating within a complex political framework, in light of the fact that governance in itself is essentially a political activity. Two speakers then consider fiscal problems related to State education system governance. The discussions center on the kinds of governance constraints stemming from both local and governmental fiscal constraints. The next three addresses speak to a number of issues that reflect the way in which laws -- and the administrative structure ordained by the law -- control educational governance. Although the political, fiscal, and legal settings together constitute the basic matrix in which governance of State education systems is embedded, a large number of other forces impinge on the actual governance operation. Some of the resultant operational problems are discussed in the five papers that conclude the presentation. (Author/DN)

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The Governance of State Education Systems:

Pressures, Problems, Options

A Report of the

1972

INSTITUTE FOR CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS

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at Wemme, Oregon

Edited by

Kenneth H. Hansen, Institute Director

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Introduction

The Third Annual Chief State School Officers Institute, funded by the U.S. Office of Education and sponsored jointly by the Office and the Council of Chief State School Officers, brought together a group of forty-eight of the nation's leading educational decision makers for seven days of intensive discussion of the pressures, problems, and available options in the governance of state education systems.

This institute report contains the major addresses presented before the assembled participants by thirteen distinguished consultants. Although the formal report can embrace only these basic documents, of equal importance to the substance and success of the program were the question-and-answer periods conducted by the consultants, the background papers on a variety of related topics made available to and used as the basis for penetrating, small-group discussion sessions by the participants, and above all, the thoughtful and conscientious participation by the chiefs in attendance. All of them took seriously the charge that they were not to be just an audience of listeners but a group of highly skilled consultants meeting together to attempt to solve common problems.

The four sections of this report contain the major addresses grouped under the central headings as they appeared in sequence in the institute program: the political, fiscal, and legal settings within which state education governance operates, and some operational problems that stem from the interrelatedness and complexity of the formal governance structures.

The Political Setting

Educational governance, itself an inherently political activity, operates within a complex political framework. Three speakers address this problem from divergent viewpoints in the papers that make up this section of the institute report.

Dr. Ralph B. Kimbrough, in discussing "Education in the State Political Setting," considers "how and by whom political power is exercised in state-level educational decisions," with special concern for the "new politics" of education, which, if properly utilized, "should place education more within the mainstream of political activity."

Governor Tom McCall of Oregon, under the broad title, "A Governor Views the State Education Agency," discusses his perceptions of state educational functions and responsibilities. He emphasizes the continuing need for combining state responsibility with local control, commenting that "the source of funds is not necessarily a determinant of the exercise of power."

The Honorable Stewart Bledsoe, speaking on the topic, "A Legislator Views the State Education Agency," calls attention to the popular frustrations with the public education system. These make it both imperative and extremely difficult for legislatures, working with always-limited resources, to meet legitimate educational needs and still maintain necessary political support. Therefore, he says, educators themselves must enter more actively into the political arena.

Education in the State Political Setting

Ralph B. Kimbrough
Chairman, Department of Educational Administration
University of Florida, Gainesville

The growth in importance of the state in educational administration highlights the need for empirically based conceptualizations of how and by whom political power is exercised in state-level educational decisions. We cannot afford to neglect the investment of our resources in the study of how educators can influence state political systems. This involves empirically based, artfully used knowledge of the state power structure. There is much readiness for the use of political expertise in practical strategies for educational improvement.

Politics is a very important modifier to add to all academic subjects. The term *politics of educational finance* is more descriptive than the academic term *educational finance*. Many of the best laid plans for a state educational program are dependent upon how much power educators and their comrades in politics have in the system and how expertly this power is used to attain goals. Educational politics is the basic area for evaluating the leaders' productivity. How well are the political goals and objectives of education stated and to what extent are they attained in each legislative session, state board meeting, and other committees and commissions?

When we consider accountability in state politics, we must realize that the simplistic computer model has severe limitations. We are dealing with a complex human (or inhuman) system with all of its strengths and frailties. Yet somehow we must learn how to use alternative strategies in these systems with some degree of predictability of success. Otherwise, the profession will be devoured by the system.

I have the impression that our task of understanding and predicting system outcomes is much more complicated today than it was prior to legislative reapportionment. Several years ago one could predict with a reasonable degree of accuracy what many legislative establishments would do for education when they were dominated by rural elements. Predicting outcomes today is much more difficult.

Many educators have had little formal education about politics. Most of us were taught how to make a school schedule, how to prepare a budget, and other technical aspects of administration. With the change in perspective of our roles, we find that we could well understand public opinion polling, voter behavior, the organizing of political campaigns, negotiation procedures, power structure, and the politics of court actions. Modern political techniques require levels of sophistication undreamed of when many of us in this room entered the field of education. Yet even at its highest levels of sophistication, politics remains an art when one attempts to move people toward decisions.

Conceptualizing the State System of Power

Conceptual knowledge of the state power structure is essential. Educational leaders need to answer many questions. What is the shape of state power structure? Is it pluralistic, a pluralism of elites, monopolistic, or another form? What are the sources of power in state decisions? What are the latent sources of political power which, with encouragement, could become active? Are the dynamics of power best described as a process based upon consensus, competition among elites, fragmented conflict, or other appropriate descriptions?

Before speaking about these questions, let me say that this is a neglected area of research. We are in much need of empirical descriptions of state power structures comparable in depth to those we have generated about community power structure. Nevertheless, we have enough data to suggest that, indeed, identifiable state power structures do exist, the shapes and dynamics of these structures differ among the states, and the political strategies appropriate to pass educational legislation vary from state to state.

National, State, and Local Aspects Of the System

The state decision-making process involves influence from national, state, and local systems. First of all one must deal with the weight of the federal government and all of its environs. National professional, economic, and other organizations operating in all of the states also influence the state system.

Of considerable concern to all educators is the way in which effective communication across state boundaries influences educational legislation. For example, modern legislatures are becoming surrounded by professional aides and reference bureaus that have effective interstate exchange. I have been astounded by the way in which bills almost identical in meaning are introduced among the states during the same year. One finds frequent examples among the punitive bills that get serious attention.

Consequently, we are facing a political future in which the unique nature of state educational legislation will be the example rather than the rule. If we allow national systems to have greater influence, we may be compelled to ask ourselves why we need state legislatures. Why not get the inevitable over with and adopt the national system?

I personally do not accept the proposition that the national system of education is inevitable or that it is desirable. I do believe, however, that the tendency for national inputs to destroy the unique nature of education among the states should be discussed at this Institute. Is there no longer a need for intensive state-level planning to meet the unique conditions among the states?

Local governments form a different but nonetheless essential aspect of state power in educational policy making. Leaders in the state power structure usually have important ties with the power structure of local government. Just as nationalism can be a detriment to state-level planning for unique conditions, local governments have in the past had their harmful influences. Perhaps we are now at a stage of development in which we can give serious attention to definitive answers concerning what each level of politics can best contribute to the development of quality schools.

Differing Shapes of State Power

In a report entitled *The Company State*, Ralph Nader's Center for Study of Responsive Law has provided an excellent

description of corporate power in the educational politics of Delaware.[1] Regardless of how you may feel in reading this report, an examination of your own states in the light of corporate power, as was done by this group, would be helpful. Based heavily upon documentary evidence supported by personal interviews, the results suggest domination of Delaware politics by corporate interests, prominent families associated with these interests, and their friends and employees.

Masters and his associates have also provided support for the existence of a consensual elite power structure in Missouri, although the dynamics of this power structure would not seem to fit the Delaware description.[2]

In his study of state politics and education in Texas, Starkey found that the top leaders in the power structure were very few in number and were the elites of the legislative, the executive, and the state education agencies.[3] Somewhat disturbing was his finding that public participation in the process was practically nonexistent. The process was characterized by consensus among educators in the legislative programs going before the legislature. Those programs, which met with the satisfaction of elites in the legislature, were introduced by the person known as the champion of sound educational legislation and usually became law.

The state power structure may be competitive elite in its shape and dynamics. In the competitive elite system, power is held by groups of leaders who engage in keen competition with other elite-run groups in the establishment of state policy. This frequently generates bitter power struggles for control of the system and for the definition of state educational policies.

Masters and his associates found the state of Michigan to have regime-like conflicts during the early 1960's.[4] The Michigan structure contained numerous groups engaged in power struggles over educational policies. Among the groups identified were fragmented educational groups (i.e., school administrator associations, teacher associations and unions, school board associations), labor unions, industrial interests, political party leaders, and others. Regime-type conflicts

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[1] Nader, Ralph, *et al. The Company State.* Washington, D.C.: Center for Study of Responsive Law, 1971.

[2] Masters, Nicholas A.; Salisbury, Robert; and Eliot, Thomas. *State Politics and the Public Schools.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.

[3] Starkey, Albert Edison. "State-Level Educational Decision-Making in Texas." Doctoral dissertation. Austin: University of Texas, 1966.

[4] Masters, *op. cit.*

involved fiscal policies, large versus small school district interests, public versus parochial schools, and rural versus urban problems. Today we could throw in the broad range of conflicting issues and educational policies involving racial integration and school busing.

The question state leaders must always grapple with is whether the power groups with whom they deal are elite run or whether they represent a broadly participative constituency. Do the leaders represent views welling up from public opinion, or are they the makers of public opinion? Again, in each of our states, we must use empirically based knowledge to determine whether we are participating in a democratic pluralism or a pluralism of elites.

The more pluralistic the power system becomes, the less stability one observes in patterns of group and leader participation from issue to issue. That is, in a pluralism, the leaders who exercise the most power in passing an appropriation bill for public education are not likely to be the same leaders who promote an expanded bonding program for the highway system. Citizen participation is broadly based and viable in the pluralism. Thus the leaders are not elitist but depend more on people power than on resource dominance by a few.

Understanding the Dynamics of Power Structure

As educational leaders study and assess the shape of power in their states, they should be particularly concerned with empirically based knowledge of who the leaders are in the system. Much emphasis must be placed upon the hidden leadership of the structure—the people who tell the hired lawyers, certain legislators, and lobbyists what to do. We must always deal with who has access to the system, being careful to differentiate between who gives orders and who carries out orders. Success or failure in educational strategy depends upon understanding the pecking order in the formal and informal dimensions of state power. In the long run, existing public opinion is less important than who makes public opinion.

Moreover, the dynamics of decision making must be monitored continuously. What are the leadership expectations of those who make up the establishment through which educational policies are formulated? The educator cannot ignore the norms of the power structure concerning how a person ought to exercise leadership unless he is prepared to revolutionalize the system. In every system the participants

have normative perceptions concerning how one ought to use his leadership resources toward the attainment of goals.

In the state system, understanding the legislative and executive establishments is critical. Since those in the audience understand this formal process better than I do, I will not elaborate upon it. Comments here are not limited to the cumbersome formal process through which bills become laws, although this is certainly important. We must go beyond mere monitoring of the formal committee processes, speeches, and roll calls or we may find ourselves dealing with pygmies instead of giants in the system. We could, for example, confine our attention to those who are appointed to the education committees. But what about the power of those on the appropriations committee, of the rules committee, of the speaker, and of those who saw that the right persons were selected for committee leadership in the first place? What about the participation of those powerful persons who do not hold positions in the executive and legislative establishments? We must somehow grasp and understand both the formal and informal processes of the total system.

State politics for education does not begin and end with the legislative and executive establishments. This is a process that goes on when the legislature is not in session. Politics surrounds the operation of the state board of education, the various commissions of state government, everyday interaction with officials of local governments, and local school districts. The activities of a state committee of one hundred, of the farm organizations, or of labor affiliates may indirectly influence educational policy recommendations. As educators we must be active among the leaders of big power interests regardless of whether they frequently use the term *education*.

In his study of state-level decision making in Texas, Starkey observed that certain noneducational organizations were particularly concerned with the problem of increasing expenditures and taxation.[5] Even though members of these groups may never appear before the education committee of the legislature, they may influence appropriations, the types of taxes levied, and other matters limiting the establishment of educational policies. All of us need to be reminded frequently that taxes and finance are at the heart of most educational improvements.

Our monitoring activities and leadership in the total system are dependent upon our ability to conceptualize the

[5] Starkey, *op. cit.*

sources of power in that system and the processes involved. This has to be given high priority by state education chiefs and other prominent educational leaders.

Latent Sources of State Power

Before relating some implications of my remarks to this point, attention should be given to latent sources of power in the state system. There are persons and groups in every state power structure who hold big pieces of power resources, but they seldom use them to influence the system. These latent sources of influence are especially characteristic of the monopolistic and competitive elite systems. Theoretically, they are not as prominent in the pluralistic system, because a characteristic of that system is a high degree of participation in governance.

These latent sources of influence are very important. Their activation could produce imbalance and system change. In studying the state political system, one should carefully locate and chart significant latent centers of power that could be activated to support educational proposals.

Traditional Means of Access to the Legislative Process

Earlier, attention was focused upon the typologies of power structures in different states. Attention will now be directed to understanding the nature of the educational establishment as a subsystem of the total power structure. How do the leaders interested in educational improvement attempt to gain access to the legislative process?

Using data available from eleven states, Iannaccone found four typologies of professional power structures through which the political interests of educators were linked to the legislative process.[6] One typology referred to by Iannaccone as the *locally based disparate* is a very loose confederation of local school districts. Fiercely independent, the school districts in this political typology are able to coalesce for state political action only when faced with extremely pressing conditions. The coalescence rapidly falls apart after statewide political activity, leaving intact the independent

[6] Iannaccone, Lawrence. *State Politics and Education.* New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1967.

districts and a very weak central confederacy. This typology was characteristic of educational politics in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts.

The *statewide monolithic* structure is another typology for linking the power interests of educators with leaders in the legislative process. In this type of power structure the education elites of a monolithic professional system have access to the legislative process. This may be a tightly woven coalition or a domination of one educational group. It is a form of educational oligarchy and is characterized by a high degree of consensus in legislative goals and objectives. Iannaccone cited New York and New Jersey as examples of this typology.[7] Starkey's description of educational politics in Texas was indicative of such a monolithic structure and consensus on goals and objectives.[8]

The *statewide fragmented* structure was the third type of professional approach to state politics discussed by Iannaccone.[9] He saw this as a structure promoting conflict as opposed to consensus among educational groups such as teacher unions, school board associations, National Education Association affiliates, administrator organizations, parent groups, and others. These were elite-run groups, so the educational establishment at the state level was a pluralism of elites. Educational politics in Michigan was illustrative of this *statewide fragmented* structure for the promotion of educational interests.

Illinois was cited as an example of the *statewide syndical* approach to developing goals and gaining access to educational decision making. The School Problems Commission was officially established by the Illinois Legislature to speak for educational interests. The commission is, in effect, a governmentally sanctioned coalition of educational groups.

The point of the discussion is that, among the states, educators and their friends traditionally have employed different professional power systems to establish program goals and gain access to the legislature. These different ways for expressing political expectations were influenced by the state power structure, through legislation, and by state traditions. I think that we will continue to have differences in typologies for projecting educational goals and for attempting to influence the legislative process.

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[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Starkey, *op. cit.*

[9] Iannaccone, *op. cit.*

Those typologies discussed are not meant to be inclusive of all the states. They were based on data from only eleven of the fifty states. Moreover, Iannaccone's study was based on evidence existing prior to the development of formal adversary-type negotiations at the state level. Nevertheless, from my experience I would say that many states in the nation have fit roughly (with exceptions expected) within one of these arrangements.

According to data reported by Usdan, twenty-seven states had some form of attempted coalition of educational groups.[10] The function of most of these coalitions, however, was largely limited to serving as a communication link and for consensus building among the participating groups. Most of the actual political activity was carried out by the individual groups. The confederated nature of many state coalitions and the imminent possibility of their dissolution through group conflict had the effect of narrowing their political activity largely to state financial-aid legislation. Usdan saw the traditional approach to educational coalitions in a process of change as a result of the growing independence of teacher organizations and the pluralization of educational forces.

The New Politics of Education

Some important developments are disturbing the traditional professional establishments among the states. These developments have produced system breaks in some states within recent years. We have entered what I shall call the new politics of education. The state education agency must learn to cope with these new power arrangements.

Formal Negotiations and the New Politics

Under the adversary type of formal negotiations, the educational coalition strategy for expressing educational goals and objectives in the legislative process would be difficult to achieve. If we can project from local school districts as a microcosm of what could materialize in state-level politics, educational forces will be fragmented into a pluralism of elite-run power groups. Just as school principals and other middle-management personnel may become the forgotten per-

[10] Usdan, Michael D. "The Role and Future of State Educational Coalitions." *Educational Administration Quarterly* 5: 26-42; Spring 1969.

sons in the bargaining process of local school districts, so the chief state school officer and state education agency may be left out of the bargaining process. In some school districts, lack of preparation and expertise and powerlessness of boards and superintendents resulted in contracts in which the teachers ran the school system. The officially designated educational leaders gave the store away. If some state education chiefs do not perform better than some of the local boards and administrators did in the new politics of education, they, too, will become a knot on a log in their state.

Hawaii has just gone through the negotiation of a state contract. According to Husted's report on the process, no representative from the state education agency was included on the negotiating team appointed by the governor.[11] Yet the negotiated contract contained items that must have been of vital interest to the state agency. The team included two members of the State Board of Education, a representative from the Office of Budget and Finance, and a representative from the Department of State Personnel. I could not tell from the article what access the leaders in the state education agency had to the bargaining process. The point is that, unless chief state school officers maintain either formal or informal access to the process, they will be in the position of many middle-management leaders of local school districts who have seen their functions negotiated away.

The time is now—not tomorrow—for state education chiefs to plan for the new politics in education. Unless they do take their politics seriously, they may indeed find themselves in an embarrassing powerlessness. From the literature, I formed the impression that many state boards of education are notoriously weak. The inevitable pluralization of what we have traditionally known as the teaching profession will erode the political power of those administrators who have depended upon the unswerving support of teachers as a base of power in state politics.

Growing Pluralization Among Educators

In many states, educational leaders have attempted to form grand coalitions as a power-base access to educational legislation. Such coalitions will continue to be possible as the education profession everywhere becomes a pluralism of

[11] Husted, Joan Lee. "Winning a Statewide Contract." *Compact* 6: 34-37; June 1972.

elite-run power groups. However, coalitions cannot be built upon the exertion of power from the top down as is characteristic of the traditional monolithic professional arrangement. The coalition must be established through formal or informal bargaining among the leaders of the disparate groups. Educators will learn, as professional politicians have learned, that politics makes strange bedfellows.

We are already seeing illustrations of this new professional politics. At the national level over thirty educational associations are coalescing for stated purposes in the Emergency Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs. The so-called Big Six organizations are a coalition formed to effect certain kinds of legislation. Yet these would be considered strange bedfellows by some observers.

The pluralization of professional educators in no way prohibits the formation of powerful coalitions. The ground rules and the processes involve rather drastic changes in the attitudes and leadership styles of educational leaders. This is indeed a new politics in which the term *parity* has empirically observable meaning. The old bossism politics with the unswerving support of kindly, dedicated followers gives way to a more democratic process wherein keeping one's cool and cooperative leadership are virtues.

Other Political Changes

In addition to those developments discussed above, several other developments should not be overlooked. The courts have gone much further in the administration of schools than many educators anticipated. Whether there will be a retrenchment from or a greater involvement of the courts in the future remains a question. In any event, the political philosophy of persons selected as judges has become of vital importance to educators. Educators have not felt the full effects of the decision requiring legislative reapportionment. This may be accompanied by the development of a higher degree of openness in the political system and in the social system in general. We will experience continued growth of state bureaucracy for education. The implications of this growth for state education politics will be discussed later. We will see the growth of federal participation in the administration of education. This, too, adds new complexities to the relationship of the state education agency and local school districts. Regardless of the initial arrangements for more massive federal aid to education, chief state school officers will

in the future be involved directly in national power struggles. The growth of urban coalitions may signal the development of new power arrangements among teachers, superintendents, principals, and other professionals.

In the new politics of education those matters traditionally considered to be the prerogative of educators have become the concern of numerous non-educator groups. I am speaking of those professional concerns (i.e., teacher training, certification, methods of instruction, organization) that have been avoided in the past by politicians because they were high-risk, low-political-return areas. In the new educational politics, urban groups, the governor's office, legislators, and numerous pressure groups are becoming publicly involved in depth in these matters. Moreover, through their own information-gathering systems, the legislature and the governor's office are becoming less dependent upon educational agencies in making decisions. The state education agency must respond to this new politics or wake up one morning to find the gate down and the horse run away. The response of the state agency must be in continuous planning, strategy building, and strong political leadership. The traditional approach of sitting down every two years before the legislature meets and dreaming up a legislative program will not constitute an adequate response to the new politics of education.

The New Politics and Changing Bases of Power

As you already have discerned, much of this paper is devoted to the importance of political leadership within changing power relationships. Emphasis is upon the new politics of education insofar as the state education agency is concerned. I believe that the new politics will push chief state school officers more than ever before toward the mainstream of politics in the state.

What many persons do not realize is that formal adversary-type negotiations are a political process. If you do not have power, you do not negotiate. No group can negotiate effectively, including the chief state school officer, from a position of powerlessness. Differences in power relationships are the reason why teachers have benefited more from negotiations in some school districts than they have in others.

Thus if the state education agency is to participate to any degree of parity in state negotiations, new power bases

must be built. Traditionally, the state education agency leaders and other associated leaders could depend upon the general following of teachers and other educators as a basis of political power. In the new politics the chief state school officer may no longer enjoy the unswerving support of many professional groups. I believe that this will have the curious effect of moving the chief state school officer more into the mainstream of the state power establishment. Under these given circumstances he will have to build a power base with powerful state forces other than classroom teachers, or face powerlessness. This means that he and his comrades in politics must become fully politicized leaders among bankers, lawyers, businessmen, farmers, realtors, developers, industrialists, insurance executives, public officials, utility executives, automobile dealers, physicians, and other leaders in the mainstream of state power structure.

If this conjecture is true, and I think it ought to be, it has some rather significant implications for the state organization of education. Whereas the traditional reform model aim was to remove education from politics, the new politics of education should place education more within the mainstream of political activity. The new politics could make the nonpartisan elected board and appointed chief state school officer anachronisms.

Please note also that in the inevitable power plays to reorganize state governance of education, leaders in the state education agency have opportunities to increase formal power in decision making. Let us assume that, instead of the governor being named as the employer, the state board of education is delegated broad powers to operate schools. The state board would be the group to be negotiated with and the results subject to ratification through the legislative process. The powers delegated by law, of course, emanate from power generated to pass them. If one is to enjoy officially designated policy-making powers, he must win them in the political arena.

Problems of a Growing Bureaucracy

In the new politics of education we are experiencing a decided growth in state education agencies. The agencies of some states were kept miserably weak in influence for many years. Federal assistance to increase the leadership of state agencies, combined with the growth of state participation,

will produce a growth in bureaucratic complexity. This will give rise to some important political problems. For instance, how does the chief state school officer accommodate a grab for more power by his bureau chiefs without further alienating leaders in local school districts?

In spite of what has been described as the myth of local control of education, the concept has viability in the perceptive reality of practice. Why, for example, have many state education agencies been weak in political influence? One rather obvious reason is that educational leaders and their friends in the legislature have resisted a strong, aggressive state bureaucracy. As a consequence, the chief state school officer has the problem of maintaining the political support of his local constituents while at the same time moving toward a greater position of influence.

Attaining this position of influence is not an insurmountable task. The answers lie in sound organizational and leadership principles. For one thing, emphasis should be placed upon performing services for superintendents that do not create more problems for them than before the services were performed. Doing things with people to improve education produces much more enduring political support than doing things to people. All too frequently I witness the hand-waving anger of school superintendents who perceive that some small, smart-alecky group of persons has planned a grand project that costs the superintendents large numbers of man days. Many of these handed-down projects are legitimate attempts to improve some aspect of education. Yet to the local school administrator they may be one more hoop to jump through to get state and federal money. The sum of all these feelings can produce great loss of power and forces countervailing to the state education agency.

Another potential problem involves the crunch of conflict between state and federal bureaucracies. The state education agency could become the group in the middle insofar as local and national governments are concerned.

The Use of Power

Political power is the basis of access and successful leadership in the tooth-and-claw aspects of state politics. If you do not have political power, you must take your hat in hand and approach the masters through the back door. Our research evidence demonstrates that some educators do

obtain political power and use it for the benefit of the children's education. Others get power as a basis of furthering their personal aims. Other educators are powerless. Contrary to what some of our subculture friends say, the society is open enough for educators to participate effectively in the decision-making process.

Professional Goals and Objectives

Knowing what one wants and having an absorbing will to go after it is a very important part of the successful use of power. Educators have been handicapped by splinter groups with conflicting goals. Bailey and his associates studied several states in the Northeast and found that splinter, competing educational groups and political naïveté of educational leaders contributed to their own defeat of educational proposals.[12]

There is clear evidence from studies of state decision making that when educators and their friends reach consensus on goals and stand united for action, they are successful in achieving significant results. This was evident from the Bailey study just alluded to, from Starkey's study in Texas, and from Masters' analysis of Missouri. Therefore, where some basis of consensus in goals is possible among the educational groups, state leaders should by all means coalesce for action. As suggested earlier, educational leaders of disparate groups (i.e., teacher unions and associations, administrator groups, school board associations, parent-teacher associations, etc.) of some states may still be able to reach consensus on supportable goals and objectives. This will depend upon how the new politics develops among the states and how well educational leaders respond to political change.

Setting political goals and objectives has not been a strong suit of state education agencies. The tendency has been to adopt in advance of each legislative session a polyglot of "legislative programs" that please the most important segments of the educational establishment but that no legislature could possibly adopt. Inevitably, the groups forming such so-called programs are thrown into conflict over how much the pie-in-the-sky programs are cut and which ones are eliminated altogether. Such attempted coalitions are self-defeating because there is no orderly process through which reasonably attainable goals are established.

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[12] Bailey, Stephen K., *et al. Schoolmen and Politics: A Study of State Aid to Education in the Northeast.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1962.

State education agencies should lead in developing a process through which goals for improving education are established. As indicated earlier, the new politics of education will move many state agencies more within the mainstream of state politics. This should not in any way deter the agency and those associated with it from the task of defining goals and objectives. In a pluralism of competing educational groups, the state agency personnel can bargain for support of these groups. The agency, however, will probably find it necesary to move toward goal achievement in the absence of support by some of these groups.

Obtaining Personal Commitments To Legislative Programs

Difficult as educational planning has been to achieve, the process is for naught unless we learn how to get the commitment to action needed to gain access to the state power structure. Somehow a person must have a gut feeling about the desirability of the legislative programs proposed through planning. The planning process must be conducted in such a way that thousands of people (and many groups) who have pieces of political power will commit themselves to political action. In the final analysis, the degree of commitment is measured by how much the constituents of state educational leaders are willing to give of themselves. One significant measure is the amount of money the various persons and groups are willing to give.

My personal feeling is that planning must be organized so that there is very broad participation among those groups and persons who are part of the state education agency establishment. The chief state school officer cannot get the personal commitment needed through an elite-run planning process. Somehow a man left out of the process does not get the strong, dedicated feeling in his craw needed to politicize him fully.

Locating and Analyzing Power

As has already been emphasized in this paper, the new politics of education demands that the participants understand the structure of power in the political system. The power-user must understand the inputs of national leaders, corporations, labor unions, developers, professional associations, and news media. He must know how the informal groups of

state leaders fit into the total conceptualization of political power. Moreover, he should locate latent centers of power in the state that might be activated. What is the shape of power in the system? Who are the leaders in the legislative establishment and what are their sources of power? These are but a few of the questions that need to be answered. The system must be monitored continuously.

The study in New York State by Milstein and Jennings may serve as a warning to state education leaders in locating power in the legislative process.[13] Their findings indicate that educators' perceptions of who wielded power in the legislative establishment were different from the perceptions of the legislators. Educators had fallen into the traditional trap of logically assuming that certain leaders held power instead of using empirical data to locate and describe the state power structure. Educators placed too much emphasis upon party politics and ascribed more power than did legislators to those holding official positions in the legislature (i.e., speaker, committee chairmen). The informal power of persons of recognized expertise was underestimated. Educators tended to neglect influencing community power structures in carrying out state-level strategies.

Reading the Future for Political Action

In the overall planning process, the state education agency needs to use modern political techniques that will help it project future societal demands for education. Successful politicians in state politics make use of scientific polling techniques to discover what the issues are among different groups of people. Educators should adopt polling techniques to learn about existing opinions, educational issues, and concerns for the future. The thoughts about education of important leaders in the legislature should be monitored.

As the political system is monitored through scientific polling techniques and observation, strong educational trends should be noted. These will most likely be areas in which strong support can be generated for legislation. The educational trends should be reflected in the goals of the state

[13] Milstein, Mike M., and Jennings, Robert E. "Perceptions of the Educational Policy-Making Process in New York State." Research paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, February 6, 1971.

education agency. A recent example of this is the growth of interest in the area of early childhood education.

Strategy-Based Leadership

Heartfelt goals and objectives are one of the bases of affirmative political activity and effective use of power. The goals and objectives of education must be written into educational programs. These programs should form the basis of bills in the legislative processes or be the basis of seeking modification and redirection of bills submitted by legislators. This approach makes offensive action more probable than defensive action. Positive action may be expected if educators do their homework and make liberal use of informed academics. The chief state school officer should have an outstanding information system supported by research and development. This is essential in counteracting the growth of independence of legislators and governors in relying upon their own information suppliers.

I am troubled by the frequency with which educators are outshuffled by their enemies and put on the defensive. Educators spend far too much time reacting to bills proposed by individual legislators and written by twenty-year-old aides and not enough time pressing for positive action on their own goals. We too frequently allow state leaders to avoid actions to improve education. I cannot recount how many times I have seen the enemies of educational progress use some such contrivance as a master-plan study to avoid appropriating needed funds for education. I have participated in too many of these actions. They have seldom been productive because they were political maneuvers to avoid state legislation. Within recent years these maneuvers have become less successful than in the past because teachers are much wiser; they do better homework on goals and strategies; they have more power.

I have the feeling that we are not investing enough of our time in projecting needed programs and in lobbying to get them adopted through state board or legislative actions. In the new politics of education there surely must be more important things to do than harass school districts with a lot of specific rules and regulations. I believe that as the personnel of our state agencies gain more political maturity and influence, they will change their tactics. The tendency is always to retreat into rules and regulations when one is insecure.

Planning Winning Strategies. In the new politics of education, resources need to be invested in the development of political strategies. In the long run the use of alternative strategies with different typologies of political systems will add to professional knowledge and give state leaders a better batting average. The chief state school officer should form a strategy team. Starting with the programs, the team should spend hours in political gaming from their knowledge of dynamics and power arrangements in the system to be influenced.

The strategy team should engage in different forms of force field analyses. Who in the power structure can be expected to support certain programs and who will oppose them? How can the educational leaders neutralize or reduce the influence of opponents and increase the power of those supporting desired legislation?

I realize that many chief state school officers engage in these activities. However, my impression is that this is not a formalized process engaged in on a continuous basis in all states. Moreover, the strategists are not taking enough advantage in all cases of what Bailey and his associates referred to as "the scribblers and their friends." [14] Reference here was to outstanding university professors who conceptualized forward-looking state-aid programs. The universities could be especially helpful in collecting and analyzing data that could be used to improve the effectiveness of the strategy teams. All too frequently we fail to see the forest for the trees when we are in the heat of political action. Kirst has observed, for example, that a recurring theme from research is of educators lacking influence in appropriations and state aid.[15] My own observation has been that educational groups tend to spend much time with education committees in the legislature. More energy should be used within the total legislative establishment and particularly with those power-wielders who do not hold public office but have influence over those who do. Above all, we must realize that the high-sounding education bills introduced by our friends amount to little if we do not get them through appropriations.

Building and Strengthening Political Organizations To Support Strategies. Much attention must be focused upon the organizational potential of the educators and their friends.

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[14] Bailey, *op. cit.*

[15] Kirst, Michael W., editor. *The Politics of Education at the Local, State, and Federal Levels.* Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1970.

Given several groups of political adversaries with equal power potential, the one that has the best organization and leadership strategy will win. Massive organizational arrangements are needed in state and national politics. Where a coalition of educational groups supporting common goals is possible, educators have tremendous organizational advantages if only they will work to exploit them. Through the network of school districts and schools, the chief state school officer can organize right down to the block level. The power potential of such an organization would be immense.

Milstein and Jennings found that individual legislators were very sensitive to the wishes of the people in their districts and to the local educational leaders.[16] Therefore, a successful state strategy should include locally organized strategies.

Becoming a Fully Politicized Participant in the State Decision-Making Process. The chief state school officer (and his designated assistants) must be a fully politicized participant in the system if he is to gain access to it and avoid powerlessness. Those of you who have achieved this stage of development know that this is a very demanding task. It is demanding on one's family. It involves full time. Someone besides you must be delegated the task of running the school system. Above all, it involves the realistic assessment of the power resources one controls, a projection of those to be controlled in the future, and the most expert and artful use possible of these resources in supporting educational goals.

Summary Comments

During the past forty minutes I have talked about several aspects of education in the state political setting. In the interest of time available I shall not attempt to summarize the different points discussed.

The chief state school officer is entering a new threshold of politics. Many of the traditionally employed political strategies used for access to the legislative process may soon be outmoded. The new politics of education will produce fundamental changes in the role of the chief state school officer and of other leaders in the state education agency. Traditional leadership roles based upon monitoring the implementation of rules and regulations will give way to viable leadership for educational improvement. Those who

[16] Milstein and Jennings, *op. cit.*

cannot fulfill the new leadership functions will be shunted aside, and other persons or agencies will fill the void.

To avoid the dreaded powerlessness in the new politics, the chief state school officer and his colleagues must become seasoned in the use of power. They must learn how to develop and use effectively political strategies that will result in the attainment of desirable educational goals and objectives. The new politics clearly implies a strong need for the state-level educational administrators to become outstanding politicians. Perhaps all of us must join in the scholarly study of how one obtains political power and uses it for educational improvement.

A Governor Views the State Education Agency

The Honorable Tom McCall
Governor of Oregon

Last year in a national television interview I said to America's tourists, "Come visit us again and again. But for heaven's sake, don't come here to live."

This year I noted that the tourists still were stampeding to Oregon, and so I said we might even have to withdraw the invitation to visit.

Naturally enough this has led many in other states to wonder what we are trying to hide. Well, one treasure I am trying to hide is our superintendent of public instruction, Dr. Dale Parnell. Dale is a superb educator and administrator and an all-around, highly competent public servant. He is of inestimable value to Oregon, and I don't want people out here trying to lure him away.

As is the case with some of the other states, Oregon elects its state superintendent of schools. I wheedled Dr. Parnell into running for the job because he was exactly right for this state. His opponent was exactly wrong for the job, an antiprogressive of the first rank, a man with a base of support so narrow that 95 percent of his campaign funds came from just two people.

I helped Dale organize his campaign, and I supported him vigorously. Yet this was nothing that I wouldn't expect other governors to do. Governors must understand that the educational offering of their states is of all-pervasive importance. We all have to be prepared to go into the valley of the shadow of political death on behalf of a good educator.

But a governor must not expect subservience in return. Dale Parnell owes me nothing, even by inference. We simply have basic philosophical agreement and we are able to rely

on each other to do his share of meeting the state's strong commitment to education.

Even before he became a candidate Dale understood the necessity for involvement of educators in politics. You all deal with legislators, and they are politicians. You deal with voters who are rejecting school budgets by the thousands, and that is politics too. You must remain on the stump to explain, cajole, and win converts. At the very least you become accessible and you open lines of communication. You learn what is troubling the other guy and are able to outline a way to ease his consternations.

Earlier I referred to some statements I have made regarding tourism. My staff now advises me that it is still appropriate for me to give a keynote speech but not an address of welcome. But I hope you have been made to feel welcome, and I am personally pleased that you were able to slip in under the wire.

And really, my statements are not to the effect that I am going to erect barriers. The point is that visitors are going to come to Oregon anyway, and I wonder if we should invite more if we are not prepared for those who have already come. I fear that the impact on nonrenewable resources will leave us nothing for the tourists who follow in the wake of today's visitors.

This concept is relatively new but it is being expressed even more dramatically in Hawaii, where the fences really are going up.

I relate this movement in Oregon and Hawaii to the desire of the people to have a decent quality of life. Usually this is viewed in the environmental context, but it encompasses education as well. We are winning the fight in Oregon to preserve and enhance our environment. We also see a way now to make equality of educational opportunity significantly more than backroom shoptalk.

You need no education from me about *Serrano* in California or *Rodriguez* in Texas. But I do want to advise you that I am dedicated to the principle enunciated in these cases. The United States Supreme Court may overturn the *Rodriguez* opinion now before it on narrow constitutional grounds, but not even this will taint me with doubt.

No child in my state ought to be deprived of an adequate education because of where he lives. We have disparities of wealth and disparities of effort among the school districts, in your states and mine. The loss is the child's—and no one

will admit to his own fiscal gain resulting from this sacrifice of the children.

It is my view—and the view expressed in *Serrano*—that having science education in Southern Oregon's Fairhaven School, where there isn't any, is just as important as having it at Western Oregon's McKinney School, where they have an excellent program.

The state of Oregon now provides approximately 21 percent of the financing of local school operating costs. I have proposed a program to triple the state contribution while at the same time reforming the tax structure for the support of elementary and secondary schools. The principal element of this program is to abolish property taxes on homes for the support of school operating costs. The people of my state do not differ from the people of your states: they want a financial structure based upon ability to pay. The predictable flak is flying, but we are traveling in the face of it. Our entire proposal, to the last technicality, will be in complete form by December, and I invite you to communicate with me so that we might exchange thoughts on it.

Serrano has provided the logistical support for equalizing opportunity, and the people are demanding tax reform. We can put these together to secure for the children for all time their constitutional entitlement to an adequate education.

And there is something even beyond this. It was expressed magnificently by the Ohio state superintendent of public instruction, Dr. Martin Essex. He said in a speech last January:

> A radical departure from our traditional tax structure certainly is indicated if we are to restore a balance of government. However reprehensible to my ideology, I welcome the court actions which move to restore my cherished hope for sound and responsive local and state government.

I was in Washington last week testifying before the Senate Finance Committee on behalf of legislation for federal revenue sharing. I made the point that local government is Oregon's number one priority, and I told the committee that my state's entire share of this revenue will go to elementary and secondary education.

My proposal for tax reform in the interest of education would lift the pressure off the homeowner and cool the financial heat felt by the school boards. The response from some of these same quarters was to slap me instantly with complaints that local control would be lost.

There is no local, state, or any other kind of control of a school district flirting with bankruptcy. The Portland School District was forced to cut twenty-two days from the school year just ended for lack of money. This is the equivalent of a full year of schooling that would be lost for a first-grader if this were continued through his secondary years.

In Oregon, school tax bases are so low that almost no district can operate for a full year without voter approval of the budget. So the pressures are just to keep the schools going. It is not just a question of whether they'll have a new door or five hundred more seats in the gymnasium. It is whether they are going to have school.

To deny a child a year of school is to have lost control, not to have retained it.

But I am not going to argue a shibboleth. There has been and always will be local control—in its real sense. Neither our state constitution nor yours, in all probability, provides local school districts with the responsibility the state has to provide a common uniform system of education. Local school districts are subject to the will of the legislature. The legislature may, or may *not*, take over the functions of the local school district. My view is that the legislature has delegated authority and now should make even more plain exactly what authority has been or should be delegated.

The legislators have the power to assume all the duties, but they shouldn't and they won't. They would like someone to be accountable for meeting the goals they establish, and I recommend that you take the lead in settling the question of accountability. I've heard corporate managers demand input-output accountability from the schools and it hasn't thrust me into a world of trauma. We ought to gleefully pounce upon the interest that is expressed, examine it with whoever would examine, and determine how we might respond.

Accountability falls at your level and mine. It falls hardest at the local level, so it is especially important that the citizens and the school boards know their role and their shared responsibility with the state. It is your duty to assist your legislators in defining broad goals for education. These should include the philosophy that the local district will establish its own goals, that it will show how they are to be met and how successful the district was in achieving its goals.

Perhaps legislators have been forced into drafting specific rules because of local failure—which equates with local

control, and possibly also with shirked responsibility at every level. My own state requires public school observance of Frances E. Willard Day, in honor of an acknowledged temperance leader. Few Oregon schools observe the day. It is an age-old, specific legislative directive not appropriate for the state to impose, but highly appropriate for local action, one way or the other.

I am happy to report that an Oregon legislative interim committee now is at work to define our state's broad goals for education. I want to make as part of the record of this conference the kind of statement that I expect will become legislative policy. The substance of this state goal would be this:

> The education of elementary and secondary students results from a combined effort of home, church, school, and community. It will be the *primary* responsibility of schools in Oregon to help students develop individual competencies to function as citizens, consumers, producers, and life-long learners.
>
> The schools have a shared responsibility and a secondary role in helping students with physical, social, emotional, cultural, and ethical-moral development. It is important that the schools support and reinforce the home and other community institutions in these areas.

This will not be all of it, but it almost could be. The important issue here is to resolve what is the first and primary duty of schools and what is secondary. The legislators, Dale and his staff, and local officials could find within this goal sufficient guidelines to permit local action. Let the local district propose a plan to meet the expressed objectives. The state will provide the money, and we all will join in an evaluation of whether the objectives were met. That's really all we ought to require. We do not need to demand that the school have nineteen students in each class and that every student must get to page 258 by the end of the semester.

So we are saying that local control will remain alive and well. Once the legislature determines *what* Oregon will consider to be a basic educational program designed to meet state goals, and puts a price on that program, local school boards will have full authority and power to decide *how* their own educational programs will operate and *how* they will reach these goals.

This is where local control functions. Its basic strength lies in the fact that local school boards have the power to hire and fire. The boards have the power to approve curriculum design and buy instructional materials, to decide what their

students will see and read, and to evaluate their own personnel and programs. The state must assume the major financial burden of supporting local schools, but the state does not need to insist upon writing the rules for each and every program.

An examination of our situation in Oregon yields edification that our community colleges have fewer legislative and State Board of Education rules to live by than our primary and secondary districts. Yet the state-federal support for community colleges makes up more than half of their budget.

Dr. Parnell, as a former community college president, is a witness to the fact that the source of funds is not necessarily a determinant of the exercise of power. In the case of the elementary and secondary schools, we are proposing local control where it counts, without attaching any mythical, magical qualities to it.

A noted comedian once said something to this effect: "Your school will provide you with sound mind . . . sound body. Take your pick." While that essentially goes too far in indicating the broadness of choice that any district may have, it may express, when the shibboleth comes your way, just how open your mind really is to a discussion of the issue.

I hope you will conclude from my remarks concerning local control and educational finance that the state unquestionably has the responsibility—constitutionally, morally, and under current law. I also have said that the judicious exercise of the clout held by the legislature can lead to a perfect union between the state and local people.

So what I now recommend to you I also recommend to the Oregon Legislature, local school boards, and the people: (a) Each local district must establish goals within state guidelines and submit plans for achieving these goals. In Oregon we have asked the local districts to submit for review their programs for vocational education and reading. Many local educators have been delighted with the opportunity to rethink what they are doing—or not doing. (b) State and federal leaders must exert leadership in the fields of planning and evaluation rather than red-tape paper-shuffling and monitoring of details.

What are some areas demanding your planning leadership? I would offer four or five ideas.

We should systematically review and revise state regulations and guidelines, and we should begin making the changes we see necessary in teacher education and certifica-

tion. Some of the teacher education requirements are dreadful; and on the other hand, we don't always know that a teacher actually can perform in the classroom. I am told that many of you are moving toward performance-based teacher education programs. I compliment you and suggest that you find among you those whom you might help to implement a similar program.

We've got to lead, not follow, the rising demand for coordination of new secondary school programs with post-high school institutions. Within five years, half of the high school seniors in this state will be doing something other than sitting in the high school classroom, their curiosity in traction. Many will be in community colleges, others in community service, and some in on-the-job training.

There is going to be a different kind of senior year for our students, more options for the seventeen- and eighteen-year-olds. And on the other end of the scale we are going to move as promptly as we can to match the early childhood education programs that some of the states now have.

We will recommend that the legislature repeal obsolete statutory requirements that impede necessary changes.

And let's make the point over and over that the great mass of America is not going to be enrolled in a university. Many students can't afford it, and even more simply don't want to enroll. Yet somehow the people have clung to the concept that basic education is so constructed that it leads only to college. And I'm sure you recognize that the educational system we have today was constructed for fifty years ago when we didn't have credit cards, cars that go too fast, and young people deciding whether to plant roots or join the rootless society. And we didn't have television in nearly every home. This new medium must be considered a part of the educational system; in fact, young people log more hours watching television over twelve years than attending formal schools.

Throughout this land there are people saying to their children and to the children of other parents, "We say, you do." This is not acceptable to me, and the students have made it obvious it is not acceptable to them. We are at a new place in time where the institution—and that means you and me as well as the principals and the teachers—must respond to the students' needs. We must meet them at their point of need instead of our own. We can do this without a great infusion of money. It may be wrenching to some as

they turn their heads in the direction of the future instead of the past, but we have doctors in attendance.

You are those doctors, the doctors of education. You have hoed tough rows to get where you are, but you also are fortunate to *be* where you are at this particular point in history. For you have the greatest opportunity of this century to help effect the change that you know is necessary, and that I am convinced we can have.

I am in your corner no matter where you live—Boise, Atlanta, Montpelier, or San Juan.

The people really are on our side. I only wonder whether we have made it possible for them to know it.

A Legislator Views the State Education Agency

The Honorable Stewart Bledsoe
Majority Leader
House of Representatives
State of Washington

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. I want to thank you for inviting me to come and meet with you all this afternoon; it's not very often that a cattle rancher from Ellensburg has the opportunity to address such a large—and I might add, captive—audience of educators.

The theme of the Institute—"The Governance of State Education Systems: Pressures, Problems, Options"—certainly is a timely one. For never before has the operation of government, including the educational systems, been so fraught with pressures, problems, or options. There are pressures from some to return to the basics, to teach only the three R's. The failure of special school levies and of state financing to provide a basic education to all students is increasing in severity to a point that last year more than one-third of the 220 school districts in Washington State that submitted special maintenance and operations levies were turned down. And the options before us are increasing in number to the point where it is becoming more and more difficult even to define the term *basic education.*

Let's all be realistic. Education is deeply involved with the political process. The legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government are faced with the uncomfortable position of having to decide among certain priorities. That's what they get paid for. Education is only *one* of those priorities.

The struggle for a better quality of life by residents of in-city living; the effort of the concerned to save, preserve, and protect the natural environment; the racial and ethnic minority group struggle for equal opportunity; the private landowner who is being forced from his property because

of an increased tax burden; and the educator who seeks an improved educational financing system—all of these, and the many more I have failed to mention here, turn to their governmental bodies for solutions. The battle to gain a place in the priority race will go to the swift, the well shod, and the well prepared.

A prime example of the battle you face has been taking place in the halls of the Washington State Legislature all during my eight years in the House. It is not an educational problem, but you can see yourself reflected in it. The legislature has been badgered on salmon fishing by gill netters, purse seiners, commercial and sportsmen, and each group has worked for its own special interest. The real problem, however, is not the incompatibility of individual interests; very simply, there just is not enough salmon to go around. The same holds true for all those in the priority race. There simply is not enough money to go around, and there never will be enough money, unless you read the taxpayer differently than I do.

Our state's constitution establishes education as the state's primary responsibility. "It is the paramount duty of the state to make ample provision for the education of all children," says the Washington Constitution. "The Legislature shall provide a general and uniform system of public schools. . . ."

That pretty well puts the onus on those of us who fill a seat in the hot box in the State Capitol. There is a realization both by legislators and by many informed private citizens that the cost of education has far outstripped the state government's ability and/or willingness to fund it under the present system of tax collection and expenditure allocation.

At the root of the financial squeeze, and most prominent in the minds of many private citizens, is the special levy system. Originally intended to be nothing more than a means to finance special education projects, special levies have become more and more a means to finance basic school operations and maintenance. Three years ago, according to the Washington State Research Council, special levies accounted for approximately 15 percent of all school financing. Last year that rose to 21 percent, and if the current trends continue, the Council predicts next year we could find school districts playing ballot-box roulette for 25 percent of their funds.

Statewide, Washington's public schools sought $235 million in levy funds this year, up 25 percent over last year's

requests. The voters rejected $40 million worth of the special issues, a jump of—and get this—almost 125 percent over last year's figure. That whopping increase in levy failures represents the largest single year for levy failures in our state's history. The dollar value of the levies rejected last spring nearly equals the value of all levies submitted to voters as recently as six years ago. Just in case all of you out there haven't noticed it, there seems to be something wrong going on here.

Most of us—educators, public servants, and private citizens—are quick to blame the state tax system because it leaves many local districts holding the bag. There is a taxpayer revolt which began with the 1967 state supreme court ruling that property must be assessed for tax purposes at 50 percent of true value. For years the county assessors had been using 25 percent as the rule of thumb.

The tax system unquestionably is part of the picture, but there are many indications that the widespread defeat of the many special levies can be attributed to other causes.

We are currently looking at a new electorate with frustrations stronger than I have ever seen in my experience as an elected official. There is a movement back to the old concept of populism, the most dramatic example of the movement being the recent nomination of George McGovern. The senator from South Dakota and I disagree violently on many issues, but he has managed to demonstrate quite well to all of us that the frustrations of the new electorate can be organized and that government, to be successful, will have to listen to all sides of the political spectrum.

Eighteen-year-olds can now vote. As a result, politics is being taken into the streets, and the old public-involvement tools—the referendum and voter recall—are finding renewed favor.

So while there is a taxpayer revolt shown in votes against special school levies, it is not totally an antischool movement but rather a surfacing of frustrations that the voters feel. Because it is not an antischool movement, all educators must begin working very hard to establish credibility with these voters in order to prevent state education from becoming the prize whipping boy.

There is, after all, some validity to voter dissatisfaction and unrest. College courses in fly-tying and floating the Yakima River don't make it with the nearby farmer who, with sweat on his face, is seeking help to harvest his crops. Students who scorn the educational opportunities that their

parents worked so hard to obtain but never realized don't make it with the factory worker who has only the assembly line to look forward to the rest of his life.

You, the educator, are walking the tightrope. We cannot suggest going back to the caves or implementing an education policy which will not adequately prepare our children for tomorrow's world. But politics is largely luck and timing, and so it is with those educational programs that are being underwritten by the financially hard-pressed communities. The programs that are realistic and in touch with the requirements of the community generally pass. Witness approval of the recent school levy in Ellensburg, my home town, by 90 percent while one in Richland, only ninety miles south, failed. The Ellensburg levy was an excellent example of proper timing in community-wide approach and realistic phrasing, together with acceptance by the educational policy makers that they could not have all they wished for all at once.

I personally feel that a much higher percentage of special levies would pass if greater citizen input were provided for during the levy establishment period. I would recommend that school districts create lay advisory committees to obtain greater participation from those in the communities. In this manner, the levy that results and is put forth to the people for acceptance would not come from the educators alone but from the community itself.

The average legislator is woefully uninformed about the true nuts and bolts of education. Unless he is a legislative specialist or is from the educational community, he is often in a position where he is presented with a lot of half-truths, superstitions, and not very much fact.

You can be influential in changing that.

First of all, try to find a candidate whose educational intelligence quotient is something above the low eighties.

Secondly, if the legislator doesn't meet that qualification, help bring him or her up to speed. People who will provide *factual* information to the legislature are rare—that is, information that is brief, repeatable, concise, and even sometimes not in sympathy with their cause. Honest and forthright advice is truly appreciated.

Finally, become personally involved in the political campaign of those who represent you. These people will recognize that you helped them in the past and will be receptive to you when the time comes that *you* need help. You can optimize the priority survival quotient by utilizing all *three* of these methods.

It is important also to understand the rules of the game. Legislative bodies tolerate a certain amount of stupidity, even some hypocrisy. But they are totally unforgiving of deliberate deception, specifically the bent figure, phony graph, or direct lie—the most unforgivable of all. Educators must be ready to provide believable facts and reasoned analysis in order not to suffer from credibility gaps. Lobbyists for any group have nothing to fear as long as they conduct themselves openly.

Mark Twain once said, "Thunder is good, thunder is impressive; but it is lightning that does the work." Well, the same is true when it comes to lobbyists, and for that matter, to legislators. There are those who only create a great deal of noise, and there are those who speak more loudly than others and impress some with their oratory. But those in Olympia, in Salem, or even in Washington, D. C., who actually accomplish things are the ones who do not make the noise but who *do* study the problem, who do not try to outmuscle or overpower but who *do* work within the established system and accomplish much.

In the last general election in our state there was a measure on the ballot to reform the tax structure in Washington State. That measure left the legislature to be placed before the people doomed to defeat. It had been overcompromised because of those, other than educators, who were more interested in obtaining social change than in providing a realistic referendum. The "sweat equity" of the educators and the support of many legislators who could have helped the issue were notable in their weakness. The only people who really carried the ball were the governor and a small handful of legislators. All too many of my colleagues consider the grass-roots work in obtaining votes for such measures beneath their dignity. HJR 42, the tax-reform measure that would have shifted the tax burden from the state's property owners and provided the groundwork for improved educational financing, failed and failed miserably.

In the closing days of the last legislative session a group of Washington educators came on board with a new proposal, which again was overcompromised. It was formulated in an effort to try to include a portion for just about everybody, and had it been passed, I am confident that a doubting public would have noted its inadequacy and would have rejected this measure also.

Fiscal perfection and comfortable future revenue latitude that educators sought in these measures were justifiable

in their eyes because they were seeking a package drawn in their image. But in reality, on both occasions they sent a baby out into the Columbia River wearing weighted shoes. The taxpayer who would eventually reject this package was after protection—to heck with perfection.

I'd like to take a moment to be very candid with all of you and emphasize a point I made a few moments ago: your involvement. In the congressional district I intend to represent in Washington after the November elections, the primary industry and source of income for the people is agriculture. The central portion of Washington State is natural-resource-oriented, with the Columbia River to the east, the Cascades to the west, and a great deal of rich soil in between. Yet within the region there are more educators than there are farmers. Very few people realize this fact.

During my campaign for Congress I have been raising my campaign funds from John Q. Citizen. To date we have received 865 individual contributions for the campaign; the largest was $500, the average is around $60. We've had 531 people contribute less than $50, and 320 of these less than $25. We have raised a total of $56,641.22.

That may sound like a lot of money, but at today's campaign prices, ours is not a rich man's campaign, at either the funding or the spending level. Of interest to you, however, is that of the 865 contributors to my campaign, only a dozen have been educators. Now if this campaign were being financed only by the rich, I could understand. If I had to seek out new avenues of communication to people within the district, I could understand. But neither is the case. The level of contributions I have received indicates clearly that we welcome assistance from everyone. Also, nearly every registered voter within the area was mailed a personal letter from me with a pledge card which provided them with the opportunity to participate in the campaign by displaying a bumper sticker, by placing a sign in their yard, by helping in the campaign office, or by sending in a financial contribution.

The response of efforts from the educational spectrum says something to me. It says either that the educators who live in that district are not registered to vote, or that they are tremendously apathetic toward the political process, or that they may support my opponent (in which case I have a surprise for them). If the response to my plea is any indication, then certainly it is possible that there may be a lack of

educator response to other campaign efforts in other areas and for other races.

Ladies and gentlemen, the key point here is not my bankroll. It is that during the time a politician is seeking election, during the time he is seeking volunteers to work for him, to assist in the campaign by contributing time and money, during *that* time his hearing aid is up to full volume. I am not telling you to go out and buy a legislator, and I'm not saying that if you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours. What I am saying is that every concerned citizen should become involved in the basic political process of electing their representative. It comes in handy in a year or two, after the candidate is an elected official, if for no other reason than that he will remember your name, answer your phone calls, and respond to your letters. In my opinion, that is a much better way to operate than to try to exert pressure on the official en masse only when he must vote on an issue that concerns your special interest. I'll respect you more if you come around when you *don't* need something.

Another reason to become active in political campaigns: it is educational. Education, you know, is not synonymous with schooling. No amount of political science courses, no special documentary film, no guest speaker can genuinely educate another person concerning the basic political process of elections until you yourself have actively participated. After all, whether you call it populism, representative democracy, or whatever, this country is established on the principle that government serves the governed. Now that sounds a little corny, but this system that we have been a part of for the past two hundred years is a good one. It's the best political system history has known, but it can continue to get better *only* if more people will work actively within it. The best place to start is with the electoral process itself.

Now I know that many educators have become more active, some would even say militant, by participating in teacher bargaining groups. The state of Washington experienced its first teacher strikes this year at Seattle Community College and in the city of Aberdeen. The Aberdeen strike lasted three days and was ended when a court ruled that school districts are agencies of state government and that a strike of district employees, including teachers, is illegal.

State officials are getting longer and longer lists of school district negotiations that have reached an impasse, where collective bargaining is a dead end. Teachers in some

districts have taken the administration to court, primarily over staff cuts announced after the failure of school levies.

Those are bad public relations moves. Credibility goes out the window, with many parents wondering whether teachers are more interested in their salaries than in teaching. A student interviewed by the National Center for Information on Careers in Education last fall offered this observation: "People look up more to professionals like doctors or lawyers than they do teachers. Teachers are leaders of society in a way, but they don't have the prestige of others. Maybe it's because teachers don't always act like other professionals. They rebel too often. They go on strike, they walk around with signs, and they do the same things that nonprofessionals do."

Remember, the swift, the well shod, and the well prepared are the ones who will survive the scramble of priorities. Government today is hard pressed to provide dollars for the many different functions that demand funding. The professionalism referred to by that student is crucial—professionalism in approach, in planning, and in the concept of tomorrow's educational system.

The educator *does* walk the tightrope. Some parents and students feel that teachers and administrators have become arrogant, that they patronizingly try to tell parents they no longer are qualified to judge the quality of their child's education. Teachers are seeking satisfaction in the courts for the many grievances they have been burdened with for years.

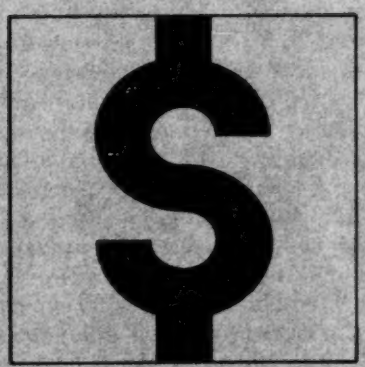
The electorate is changing. Many students can now vote on school levies that will help to fund the educational program in which they are enrolled.

Legislators are faced with unhappy taxpayers, the need for tax reform, and vocal special-interest groups, each trying to get a piece of the action.

One thing is certain, ladies and gentlemen: the educational process tomorrow will be nothing like it is today. I would recommend to each of you here that you return to your schools after this conference and look at your problems as if you were a businessman trying to solve a particular business problem. For I feel strongly that the student interviewed touched upon an important aspect of the educational spectrum that should be considered, that perhaps the field of education could benefit by some hardheaded self-appraisal such as that undergone at year-end by the business community: Did it work? If we were short of the mark, how come? What are we planning for next year to improve our

position? I don't mean that the educators should ignore the teacher-pupil relationship or the school atmosphere, but that the group might take a different approach to their careers and to their problems if they also considered themselves business executives, at least for purposes of self-appraisal.

The Fiscal Setting



Money not only talks, it often governs. Without supporting funds there would be no state education system to be governed. At the same time, fiscal constraints are also governance constraints. In this section of the institute report, two speakers consider fiscal problems related to state education system governance.

Dr. Erick L. Lindman speaks to the issue. "Full State Funding: Requirements and Options," by offering two analyses: "The Programmatic Approach," and "The *Serrano* Problem." In these papers he outlines alternatives open to states in implementing the basic principles set forth in recent court decisions on school finance cases, suggesting ways to "preserve substantial local fiscal independence without violating the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

Mr. Harley M. Dirks, in discussing "New Directions in Federal Funding," calls attention to some of the historic and emerging federal priorities in education and suggests the "federal switching station" concept of packaging specific grants into comprehensive aid programs. He admonishes educators to develop stronger consensus on educational issues and more credible accountability in educational programs if they are to expect continued and increasing federal support.

Full State Funding: Requirements and Options I. The Programmatic Approach

Erick L. Lindman
Professor of Education
University of California at Los Angeles

In this paper, I assume that full state funding means precisely what it says: all public school income will come from state and federal sources, and local taxation for public schools will be discontinued. Such a change in school finance policy would inevitably bring a new relationship between the state education agency and local school districts. Before describing this new relationship, it is useful to review, briefly, some of the characteristics of state school finance systems that in the past have influenced the relationship between the state education agency and local school districts.

The foundation program concept has done much to define the role of the state education agency. Equalization of public school support has been sought by improving the status of schools in the less wealthy school districts without reducing funds available in the more affluent communities, a process well suited to the inevitable compromises of the legislative process. Moreover, the school programs in the wealthy school districts set the pace for the rest of the state. But the process of equalization of school support has been *too gradual* in most states, and recent court decisions reflect impatience with the pace of the movement toward equal schooling.

Partial equalization of per-pupil expenditures, accomplished by the foundation program, reflects one of the basic compromises upon which public schools rest—a compromise between statewide equality of schools on the one hand and local option to strive for excellence on the other. In principle, this compromise between statewide uniformity and local option has worked reasonably well. Its acceptance depends primarily upon the maintenance of a reasonable balance be-

tween the quality of public schooling guaranteed for all children and youth in the state and the quality of schooling provided in the best local school systems in the state. If this gap is small, and if the state standard program is adequate, the compromise is generally accepted.

The essential compromise of the foundation program concept has done much to shape the role of the state education agency, and a change to full state funding would change this role fundamentally. In the following paragraphs, three financial effects of elimination of the local school property tax are noted, along with anticipated effects upon the role of the state education agency.

1. *Under full state funding, equalization of financial support of public schools would be assured.* For the state education agency, this would mean that energies formerly devoted to equalizing public school support would be redirected into a search for adequate funding for all schools. No longer would it be possible to argue for more funds for low-wealth districts to bring them up to expenditure levels of average or high-wealth districts. There would be no pacesetting school districts that could be used for comparison purposes. Requests for increases in the school budget would be based upon the educational value of proposed programs and upon salary schedules, not upon bringing low-wealth districts up to the expenditure levels prevailing in average districts. This change would require new methods of assessing the benefits and costs of educational programs.

2. *Under full state funding, local initiative in the development and maintenance of innovative programs would be severely restricted.* This means that state education agencies would need to devote more energy to developing new ways to change and improve schools. The prevailing weakness of the public school system would not be financial inequality but rather excessive uniformity. This fact would require new emphasis in the leadership role of state education agencies. It would require new ways to introduce new programs into the public schools.

3. *Under full state funding, determination of the precise total amount of local school budgets, formerly a local function, would become the responsibility of the state.* Under present school finance procedures, the state contributes what is admittedly a minimum amount per pupil and assumes that this amount will be supplemented up to the precise amount needed from local sources. With elimination of the local school tax, local supplementation would no longer be possible,

and the state would determine the *precise total* amount needed instead of the *minimum* amount. This change would have far-reaching effects upon the relationship between the state education agency and local school districts.

Under the foundation program, there was always the final, crucial local contribution to the school budget. Even if this contribution was small, it was crucial, because it determined the total amount of the school budget. Income from state and federal sources was computed first, and the amounts contributed were usually independent of the total amount of the school budget. The final budget-balancing contribution came from local sources, and it was the determination of this amount that gave the local school board the key role in the budgetary process.

Elimination of the local school tax would reduce significantly the local role in the budgetary process and place greater responsibility upon the state education agency. To discharge this responsibility, state education agencies would need to develop new systems for allocating state school funds among local school districts. The new system should have three characteristics:

1. *It must be more precise and must make provision for unusual local needs.* Present systems granting $500 per pupil, or $15,000 per classroom, are too crude to measure adequately the total annual need of local school systems.

2. *It must identify clearly, for the legislature and the public, the scope of educational services rendered to pupils.* Present systems, except for categorically aided programs, do not indicate the scope of educational services provided by the school. This must be clarified to justify appropriation requests. In the past, appropriations were often requested to reduce excessive local school tax rates or to increase financial support of low-wealth districts. These arguments for increased state school appropriations would no longer be available; instead, it would be necessary to defend appropriation requests by describing and evaluating the various components of a total school program.

3. *It must preserve community and parental interest in the school program, even though all income comes from more remote sources.* There is a danger that the school, as an institution, would shift its primary loyalties from the local community to its sources of money—the state and federal governments. This could lead to decreased cooperation between the home and school, thus weakening an essential element in the child-rearing process.

With these requirements in mind the programmatic approach to public school support has been developed.

The Programmatic Approach

The programmatic approach to the allocation of state funds to local school districts displays clearly the amount of state funds allotted for each major school program. In this sense, the plan resembles the categorical aid system, which most school administrators dislike because of the constraints it places upon the budgetary process and because of its burdensome administrative concomitants. Appropriating agencies, however, like its clarity of purpose. Unlike general support, categorical aids seem to assure legislators that, for a relatively small appropriation, substantial program improvement will be achieved.

The problem, then, is to retain their clarity of purpose and avoid their administrative constraints and burdens. This can be achieved by consolidating existing categorical aids into fewer programs with broader purposes. It is suggested, therefore, that state school funds be allotted to local school systems for each of the following programs:

Instructional Programs

1. The standard elementary program
2. The standard intermediate program
3. The standard secondary program
4. Kindergartens and nursery schools
5. Summer school education
6. Vocational education
7. Special education
8. Compensatory education
9. Adult education

Student Services Programs

10. Health services
11. Food services
12. Pupil transportation services.

For each of these programs, goals and objectives should be formulated, along with criteria for assessing the effectiveness of the program. For example, the purpose of the summer school education might be (a) to provide for children who have failed a course an opportunity to make it up during the summer, (b) to provide special advanced instruction for gifted students who show talents for school work substantially

beyond that available in the regular school program, and (c) to provide typing for students who want one course in it for personal use. If these are the objectives of a summer school program, then it should be possible to report, at the end of the year, the number of students who completed the courses and how well they did in these courses. With such a report, the legislature should be able to determine whether or not its investment in summer school education is a sound one. Similar objectives should be spelled out for each program.

After the programs are identified and the goals clearly stated, it is necessary to determine the resources required for each program, along with their costs. For this purpose, it would be necessary to develop a program-cost formula for each of the twelve programs. These formulas would need to be as objective as possible to assure that all local school systems receive equal treatment, yet they should be sensitive to unusual local conditions that affect the amount of funds needed.

In the recently completed National Educational Finance Project, it was suggested that some students cost more than others to educate. Accordingly, it was suggested that all students be classified into different categories representing different degrees of educational difficulty. Then an annual cost-of-education amount for each category could be established.

Under this plan, a local school system would simply report the number of students it had in each category and it would receive from the state the established amount of money for each student. This plan was suggested for use in foundation programs, but it probably is not sufficiently precise or sensitive to local needs to be used under full state funding.

For full state funding, it is proposed that for each of the nine instructional programs there be three allotments: (a) an allotment for salaries of certificated employees, (b) a standard support allotment, and (c) a supplemental support allotment. The sum of these three allotments for an instructional program is the amount of current expense funds needed for that program for one year. (See p. 48.)

To show how allotments to local school districts for each program would be computed, illustrative budget request forms have been prepared for the standard elementary school program and for the vocational education program (see pp. 49-50). Each local school district would prepare such a budget request form for each program it maintains.

The state education agency would review these budget requests, approving routinely those which conformed to estab-

PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRENT EXPENDITURE BUDGET
STATE SUMMARY—1975

Program	Certificated Salaries	Standard Support	Special Support	Total
1. Kindergarten and Nursery Schools				
2. Standard Elementary Education				
3. Standard Intermediate Education				
4. Standard Secondary Education				
5. Summer School Programs				
6. Vocational Education				
7. Special Education				
8. Compensatory Education				
9. Adult Services				
10. Health Services				
11. Food Services				
12. Pupil Transportation				
TOTAL				

ANNUAL BUDGET REQUEST

STANDARD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAM

School District_____ For School Year_____

	Actual Current Year		Estimated Ensuing Year
A. Average Daily Attendance (FTE) in Grades 1 through 6.	_____	A	_____
B. Number of School Sites Maintained for Grades 1 through 6.	_____	B	_____
C. Number of Regular Elementary School Classroom Teachers.	_____	C	_____
D. Pupil-Teacher Ratio (A/C).	_____	D	_____
E. Number of Elementary School Principals and Supervisors.	_____	E	_____
F. Number of Certificated Support Personnel (Librarians, Consultants, etc.).	_____	F	_____
G. Total Number of Certificated Positions (C+E+F).	_____	G	_____
H. Annual Salary Requirements for Indicated Number of Certificated Positions, Based Upon Approved Salary Schedule.	_____	H	_____
I. Estimated Amount Needed for Sick Leave and Other Approved Fringe Benefits (H×12%).	_____	I	_____
J. Total Allotment for Salaries of Certificated Personnel (H+I).	_____	J	_____
K. Standard Support Allotment (F×$7500).	_____	K	_____
L. Supplemental Support Allotment:			
Special Building Maintenance	_____		_____
Other	_____		_____
Total Supplemental Support Allotment	_____	L	_____
M. Total Allotment for Standard Elementary School Program (J+K+L).	_____	M	_____

ANNUAL BUDGET REQUEST

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

School District_____ For School Year_____

	Actual Current Year		Estimated Ensuing Year
A. Average Daily Attendance (FTE) in Approved Vocational Education Classes.	_____	A	_____
B. Number of Vocational Education Teaching Positions.	_____	B	_____
C. Student-Faculty Ratio (A/B).	_____	C	_____
D. Number of Vocational Education Supervisory Positions.	_____	D	_____
E. Total Number of Vocational Education Positions (B + D).	_____	E	_____
F. Annual Salary Requirements for Indicated Number of Positions Based Upon Approved Salary Schedule.	_____	F	_____
G. Estimated Amount Required To Finance Sick Leave and Other Approved Fringe Benefits (F × 12%).	_____	G	_____
H. Total Allotment for Salaries of Certificated Vocational Education Employees (F + G).	_____	H	_____
I. Standard Support Allotment for Number of Approved Certificated Positions (E × $7500).	_____	I	_____
J. Supplementary Support Allotment:			
Maintenance of Shops	_____		_____
Instructional Equipment	_____		_____
Total Supplementary Support	_____	J	_____
K. Total Allotment for Vocational Education Program (H + I + J).	_____	K	_____

lished state pupil-teacher norms, to salary schedule requirements, and to the state standard support allotment.

Although this part of the budget review process could be routine and "objective," approval of amounts requested for "supplementary support" would require careful analysis. Included in this category would be replacement of instructional equipment used in vocational classes, unusual maintenance costs incurred for old buildings, security personnel needed to protect buildings from vandalism, and so on. State policies concerning such extra allotments could be developed with experience.

Perhaps the most sensitive part of the entire process would be the approved salary schedule. Obviously, the state cannot agree to pay in full the cost of all locally adopted salary schedules. But it is also obvious that a sudden shift to a uniform statewide salary schedule would create serious problems. For this reason, state approval of local salary schedules is suggested, providing time for a gradual movement toward more uniform salary policies.

This budget review process contemplates state intervention into what were formally local decisions, not because the state has superior wisdom, but simply because the state, under full funding, must allocate educational resources equitably throughout the state. It is to be hoped that maximum local freedom to select and deploy teaching personnel would be maintained. Although a traditional school organization is assumed for the purpose of calculating the amount of funds a local school district is entitled to receive, it is expected that the state would permit funds to be expended for new and different instructional arrangements.

Concluding Comment

This paper assumes, but does not advocate, full state funding and elimination of the local school tax. However, if the opposition to local property taxation for public schools mounts, and if courts cling to the basic idea of the *Serrano* decision, full state funding may be the wave of the future. For these reasons, we should begin now to examine the problems and opportunities it presents.

The procedures for allocating state funds to local school districts suggested in this paper are intended (a) to identify the major school programs so that the scope of educational services is understood by the legislature and the public, and

(b) to provide a method for allocating state funds among school districts that is as objective as possible and still provide for unusual local conditions. Although illustrative budget request forms are included with this paper, much remains to be done before a state could put the suggested plan into operation. It is hoped that individual states, with help from the U.S. Office of Education, will undertake needed additional development work.

Full State Funding: Requirements and Options
II. The Serrano Problem

Erick L. Lindman
Professor of Education
University of California at Los Angeles

If the *Serrano* decision is sustained, local school taxation must be either "equalized or eliminated." The elimination option, commonly called full state funding, would fundamentally change the relationship between the state education agency and local school districts. The latter would become more like departments of state government and less like municipal corporations. They would lose most of their fiscal independence; decisions requiring additional expenditures would be made by the state.

The other option, to equalize taxing capacities of school districts, has been offered as a way to preserve substantial local fiscal independence without violating the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Although this goal is widely approved, the feasibility of its attainment is often questioned.

If it were possible to alter boundaries of school districts so that assessed values of taxable property per student were nearly equal in all districts, the goal could be attained. But to do this would require school districts so large that local fiscal independence would no longer be "local." Instead, there would be regional taxing agencies, which would offer little advantage over statewide taxation and full state funding.

For this reason, the most widely discussed approach to equalizing the school tax base is a state-aid system called "power equalizing." This system, sometimes called "equalized matching," permits the school district to determine its tax rate and requires the state to match the proceeds of the local school tax, using different matching ratios for different school districts. The matching ratios are inversely related to the taxable wealth per student of the school district, so that

low-wealth school districts receive greater amounts of state aid, and the sum of local and state funds per student is the same for all school districts that levy the same tax rate.

The power-equalizing plan of state school support is offered as a substitute for the widely used "foundation program," which, according to recent court decisions, violates the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Since there are many similarities between power equalizing and the foundation-program approach to public school finance, the distinction between them needs clarification. The following statements indicate the essential difference:

Power Equalizing	*Foundation Program*
Purpose: To establish an equal tax base per student, thus equalizing *potential* income per student for all school districts.	Purpose: To guarantee a specific annual income per student for all school districts, irrespective of local taxable wealth per student.
State Contribution: Amount is inversely related to local taxable wealth per student and directly *proportional* to the total local school tax rate.	State Contribution: Amount is inversely related to the local taxable wealth per student and is *independent* of the total local school tax rate.
Required Local Tax Rate: No specific tax rate is required, but the amount of state aid is reduced if the local tax rate is reduced.	Required Local Tax Rate: A specific local tax rate is required by law for all school districts to provide the local contribution to the foundation program.
Limitation upon State's Contribution: No limit is established. If a local school district increases its local tax rate, it would be entitled to more state aid.	Limitation upon State's Contribution: The state contributes toward the cost of the minimum program only. Expenditures beyond the minimum must come entirely from local taxation.
Source of Inequalities: Inequalities in income per student depend upon the willingness of people to tax themselves locally for public schools.	Source of Inequalities: Inequalities in income per student stem primarily from differences in taxable wealth per student for school taxes beyond the required local contribution rate.

The foregoing description indicates why one approach is called "power equalizing," or "equalized matching," and the other the "foundation program." Under the former, a matching ratio is first computed for each school district. Low-wealth districts would have high state matching ratios, calling for, say, five dollars from the state for each dollar raised locally. School districts with large amounts of taxable wealth per student would have low matching ratios and would receive, say, one dollar from the state for each five dollars raised locally. For extremely wealthy school districts, the matching ratios would be negative, calling for a contribution from the district to the state.

The formula used to compute the matching ratios would assure that school districts that levied the same tax rates would receive from state and local sources combined the same total number of dollars per student. In this sense, the *potential incomes* would be *equalized*.

The term *foundation program* refers to a specific amount of income per student, presumably sufficient to finance a minimum or standard school program. Under the foundation program concept, the state contributes only toward the cost of the state standard program. Expenditures beyond this amount must be obtained exclusively from local tax sources, giving an advantage to school districts with large amounts of taxable wealth per student and making it difficult for low-wealth districts to supplement the state standard program. This is the main source of the inequalities cited by the court in the *Serrano* case.

The Matching Ratio Formula

The formula for computing matching ratios for school districts to accomplish the purposes of power equalization is:

$$M = \frac{R}{Q} - E$$

where M = The matching ratio for a school district, which is multiplied by the amount of funds the district raises from local tax sources to compute the amount of state aid it is entitled to receive.

R = A parameter whose assigned value reflects the overall percentage of the cost of public schools to be paid from state sources.

E = A parameter whose assigned value (between 0 and 1) reflects the portion of the local school tax to be equalized by state funds.

Q = A variable equal to the assessed value of taxable property per student in the school district divided by the corresponding quotient for the state as a whole.

The formulas have only one variable, Q, which reflects the assessed valuation of taxable property per student in the school district. The properties of the formula are determined by the values assigned to R and E.

The equalization parameter E indicates the extent to which state aid equalizes local funds on a per-student basis, and may be assigned values between 0 and + 1. For example, if E is given the value $^3/_4$, then three-fourths of the locally raised funds would be equalized on a per-pupil basis and one-fourth would remain unequalized. If E were assigned the value 0, then none of the local funds would be equalized and the state would contribute an equal amount per pupil to all school districts that levied the same tax rate, irrespective of their taxable wealth per student. If all school districts levied the same tax rate, the state aid would be a flat grant or basic aid payment.

On the other hand, if E is assigned the value 1, then all potential school funds would be equalized on a per-pupil basis. If all school districts levied the same tax rate, they would all have the same total income from state and local sources per student. If the state required all districts to levy the same local school tax rate and authorized no taxes beyond this rate, and if E were made equal to 1, the equalization matching plan would be exactly the same as a foundation program in which authority to supplement the state program had been removed.

In most of the existing state school foundation programs, the local tax rate contributed to the foundation program (equalized) is only a fraction of the average total tax rate levied by local school districts. If the average total local school property tax rate is 2 percent, and if only 1 percent is contributed to the foundation (equalized) program, the effects are essentially the same as the equalized matching formula in which E equals $^1/_2$.

The differences between the two parameters (R and E) indicate the matching ratio for a school district of average taxable wealth per pupil. The difference between R and E

provides the basis for estimating the total cost of the equalized matching plan in relation to local school funds.

The quotient R/E indicates the Q value for school districts that would be entitled to no matching funds under the formula. School districts with Q values in excess of R/E would have negative matching ratios and would "owe the state" a portion of their local school funds. The state could, of course, choose not to collect these funds. Under the foundation program concept, such "excess" local school funds are retained by the local school district.

Illustrative Computations

To illustrate the characteristics of the matching ratio formula with different values of R and E, computations of state aid for six hypothetical school districts are shown (see Tables 1-6, pp. 58-61), using different values for R and E. School district A ($Q = 1/4$) is an extremely low-wealth district in which the taxable wealth per student is equal to one-fourth of the state average. School district B ($Q = 1/2$) is also a low-wealth district in which the taxable wealth equals one-half of the state average. In school district C ($Q = 1$), the taxable wealth per student is exactly equal to the state average. In school districts D, E, and F, the taxable wealth per pupil is greater than the state average as indicated by their respective Q values. Most of the larger school districts will have Q values between $1/2$ and $3/2$; only a few small school districts are likely to have Q values of less than $1/2$ or more than $3/2$.

The matching ratios for the respective school districts are shown in Column 3. These ratios are computed by substituting the appropriate Q values in the formula shown at the head of the column.

All computations are based upon the assumption that the six school districts levy the same local tax rate. The rate is established so that it will yield $400 per student in a school district of average taxable wealth per student. School district C would raise $400 per student by such a levy, but school district A ($Q = 1/4$) would get only $100 per pupil from its levy using the same tax rate. Similarly, school district E ($Q = 2$) would get $800 per student from its levy using the same tax rate. The amounts per student, derived from an assumed uniform tax rate, are shown in Column 4.

The state matching grant is shown in Column 5. It is computed by multiplying the matching ratios, shown in Column 3, by the corresponding amounts of locally raised funds shown in Column 4. Actually, under the equalized matching plan, school districts would levy different local tax rates, and the state aid would be proportionately increased or decreased. The computations in these tables show what happens if all school districts levy the same local tax rate.

In Column 6 is shown the combined state and local income per student. It should be noted that, for any table in which *E* equals 1, the amounts shown in Column 6 are equal. Also, note that where *E* equals 1, a greater number of school districts have negative matching ratios.

To facilitate review of these tables, a brief comment is made on each, calling attention to significant characteristics.

TABLE 1.—MATCHING RATIOS WHERE *R* EQUALS 1 AND *E* EQUALS 1

School District	*Q*	Matching Ratio = $\frac{1}{Q} - 1$	Local Income Per Student from Equal Tax Rates	State Matching Grant (Col. 3×4)	Total Income Per Student (Col. 4+5)
1	2	3	4	5	6
A	1/4	3	$100	$300	$400
B	1/2	1	200	200	400
C	1	0	400	0	400
D	3/2	−1/3	600	−200	400
E	2	−1/2	800	−400	400
F	3	−2/3	1,200	−800	400

Comment: In this table, *R* minus *E* equals 0; hence, the net cost to the state would be zero if the wealthy school districts actually paid to the state the amounts called for by the negative matching ratios. The zero cost to the state would also occur if all school districts were consolidated into large regional districts in which *Q* values were equal to 1.

TABLE 2.—MATCHING RATIOS WHERE *R* EQUALS 2 AND *E* EQUALS 1

School District	*Q*	Matching Ratio = $\frac{2}{Q} - 1$	Local Income Per Student from Equal Tax Rates	State Matching Grant (Col. 3×4)	Total Income Per Student (Col. 4+5)
1	2	3	4	5	6
A	1/4	7	$100	$700	$800
B	1/2	3	200	600	800
C	1	1	400	400	800
D	3/2	1/3	600	200	800
E	2	0	800	0	800
F	3	−1/3	1,200	−400	800

Comment: In this table, *R* minus *E* equals 1; hence, the net cost to the state is approximately equal to the total amount of funds raised from local tax sources. The quotient *R*/*E* equals 2, which means that negative matching ratios will be obtained for all school districts in which *Q* exceeds 2. Since *E* equals 1, all school districts that levy the same local tax rate show equal amounts per student in Column 6.

TABLE 3.—MATCHING RATIOS WHERE *R* EQUALS 3 AND *E* EQUALS 1

School District	*Q*	Matching Ratio = $\frac{3}{Q} - 1$	Local Income Per Student from Equal Tax Rates	State Matching Grant (Col. 3×4)	Total Income Per Student (Col. 4+5)
1	2	3	4	5	6
A	1/4	11	$100	$1,100	$1,200
B	1/2	5	200	1,000	1,200
C	1	2	400	800	1,200
D	3/2	1	600	600	1,200
E	2	1/2	800	400	1,200
F	3	0			

Comment: Since *R* minus *E* equals 2, the state will contribute approximately twice the total amount raised from local sources. The total amounts shown in Column 4 may be unnecessarily large; hence, a reduction in local tax rates may occur, calling for less state matching funds. Since the quotient *R*/*E* equals 3, negative matching ratios are obtained for all school districts in which *Q* exceeds 3.

TABLE 4.—MATCHING RATIOS WHERE *R* EQUALS 2 AND *E* EQUALS 1/2

School District	*Q*	Matching Ratio = $\frac{2}{Q} - 1/2$	Local Income Per Student from Equal Tax Rates	State Matching Grant (Col. 3×4)	Total Income Per Student (Col. 4+5)
1	2	3	4	5	6
A	1/4	7-1/2	$ 100	$750	$ 850
B	1/2	3-1/2	200	700	900
C	1	1-1/2	400	600	1,000
D	3/2	5/6	600	500	1,100
E	2	1/2	800	400	1,200
F	3	1/6	1,200	200	1,400

Comment: Since *R* minus *E* equals 3/2, the state contributes approximately $3 for each $2 contributed by local school districts, or 60 percent of the combined income. Since *R/E* equals 4, negative matching ratios are obtained where *Q* exceeds 4, and since *E* equals 1/2, only one-half of the local funds are equalized on a per-student basis. Although the inequalities shown in Column 4 are greatly reduced in Column 6, they are not entirely eliminated.

TABLE 5.—MATCHING RATIOS WHERE *R* EQUALS 1 AND *E* EQUALS 0

School District	*Q*	Matching Ratio = $\frac{1}{Q} - 0$	Local Income Per Student from Equal Tax Rates	State Matching Grant (Col. 3×4)	Total Income Per Student (Col. 4+5)
1	2	3	4	5	6
A	1/4	4	$ 100	$400	$ 500
B	1/2	2	200	400	600
C	1	1	400	400	800
D	3/2	2/3	600	400	1,000
E	2	1/2	800	400	1,200
F	3	1/3	1,200	400	1,600

Comment: Although matching ratios vary from 4 to 1 in district A to 1/3 to 1 in the wealthy district F, the state contributes an equal amount per student (in Column 5) if all local school tax rates are equal. With these values of *R* and *E*, the matching formula produces an equal amount of state aid per student, increased or decreased in proportion to the school district's actual tax rate.

TABLE 6.—MATCHING RATIOS WHERE *R* EQUALS 7/4 AND *E* EQUALS 3/4

School District	*Q*	Matching Ratio = $\frac{7/4}{Q} - 3/4$	Local Income Per Student from Equal Tax Rates	State Matching Grant (Col. 3×4)	Total Income Per Student (Col. 4+5)
1	2	3	4	5	6
A	1/4	6-1/4	$ 100	$625	$ 725
B	1/2	2-3/4	200	550	750
C	1	1	400	400	800
D	3/2	5/12	600	250	850
E	2	1/8	800	100	900
F	3	−1/6	1,200	−200	1,000

Comment: Since *R* minus *E* equals 1, the state's contribution equals approximately the total of all local contributions if all school districts levy approximately the same local tax rate. Since *E* equals 3/4, the last column shows a high degree of equality of income per student (more than in Table 5) but less than complete equalization on a per-pupil basis.

New Directions In Federal Funding

Harley M. Dirks
Professional Staff
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate

It is a genuine pleasure to return to the Northwest, a place I often relate to my Eastern friends as home, and a great honor to address so distinguished a group of educational administrators, the Chief State School Officers.

I assume as a mechanic and a participant in the congressional appropriations process I am here to discuss present and future prospects for the federal funding of education. I come at a time when the Congress is involved in the thick of things. The House-Senate conference on the Labor-HEW appropriation bill is near completion. However, I bring no magic solution for the school financial crisis. Financing schools is a complex, complicated subject, entangled in governmental, organizational, legal, and, yes, political technicalities, as you well know.

Most of us find it baffling, and a remedy for adequate funding elusive. It is also a time when upheaval, unrest, and uncertainty pervade educational institutions. Suddenly, past mechanisms have become outmoded and untenable. Tried processes have lost their truth.

And the dilemma facing us runs far deeper than the question of fiscal support and where it is to come from. The most basic values of our educational system are under question by many. Students cry out for "relevance" in their instruction. Some may scoff as attempts are made to steer away from tradition, but in a tight job market, high school and college graduates are finding that they possess very few marketable skills. In pursuing a difficult goal, young people find that ignorance, crime, poverty, and disease still pollute our human environment. We are finding that traditional education is no cure for the nation's ills.

This consideration of basic values may seem irrelevant to you in your consideration of governance and funding sources. But I would ask you to remember that education, particularly at the federal level, faces stiff competition with other national needs for a very limited amount of funds. Health needs, spiraling welfare costs, defense, and other uncontrollables or near uncontrollables have drained away available tax revenue for school purposes. These costs are today rising very rapidly and will surely be met at the expense of some other areas of usual support. This could easily be education's largest problem in deriving increased federal support. To compete effectively, education is going to have to prove and prove again its worth to the nation.

With a broad brush stroke let us create a picture of the federal role in education—(a) outlining its history, (b) blocking in what we are doing now, (c) sketching options for the future.

With the passage of major pieces of education legislation in the mid-sixties, the federal government assumed for the first time a role in the educational process. This initial commitment wasn't perfect; it required subsequent amending, altering, and adapting. But it was a giant step, a major departure from tradition, resulting in new hope and promise for education while overcoming some remaining apprehension about federal interference with a sacred state and local system.

During the late sixties, the Congress embarked on the process of perfecting these massive pieces of categorical assistance to schools and school districts provided in earlier legislative acts. The Congress funded, as best it could under severe budget constraints, those recently authorized programs that were designed to add to and supplement the efforts of state and local systems.

Of course, we learned some lessons during those years. Some of the supplements worked and have made a difference, and some have not. Hope and promise in certain cases have been tempered by disillusionment and disenchantment. Exaggerated promises, ill-conceived programs, over-advertised "cures" for intractable ailments, cynical exploitation of valid grievances, entrenched resistance to necessary change, the cold rigidity of centralized authority—all of these have fostered frustrations and shattered expectations.

The most piercing and painful lesson of all has been this: merely passing legislation will not achieve an educational paradise. There are, to be sure, many problems that cannot be solved without new legislation. But all too often, and

increasingly so, new legislation merely publicizes a need without creating either the means or the resources for meeting it. If such legislation is implemented at all, it is at the cost of spreading resources still more thinly over existing programs.

What Is Being Done

With these cautions in mind, let us consider the present appropriations situation. As you are aware, the economy has slumped badly over the past few years, causing tax receipts to plummet and the deficit to spiral. Experts on the economy have lost their credibility. Budgets have been tight, with a no-growth or holding pattern in many areas. This "no more than last year's budget" compounded by inflation has caused us all great concern, because it creates a step backward. It is within this bleak fiscal perspective that Congress has had to make its appropriations decisions.

However, despite these economic pressures and despite the Department's frugal budget requests and constant confrontations with the nay-sayers at the Office of Management and Budget, Congress has assigned the "high priority" label to education. Congress has done this in the face of Presidential vetoes and threats of vetoes, one of which is hanging over our heads today, as ominous as the heat and humidity that pervade the Nation's Capital. Let me cite the record. Congress added $551 million to the Administration's education budget in Fiscal Year 1971. Congress added $401 million to the President's request in 1972. In the FY 1973 appropriations bill, soon to be awaiting the President's signature, Congress has added $781 million to the education budget request, even though higher education funding is still to be considered. In all of these years, the Senate has said "aye" to even greater increases.

I would also like to draw your attention to what the Senate has done with respect to certain high-priority programs in the FY 1973 budget that you may be interested in. For ESEA Title I, a program for the disadvantaged, we added over $212 million to the budget request. For ESEA Title III, a program for state planning on supplementary services, we increased the Administration's request by $25 million. Under general support for strengthening state departments of education, ESEA Title V-A, the Senate increased the Administration's request of $33 million to $45 million. To the Administration's request of $131,109,000 under education

for the handicapped, the Senate added over $50 million. Impacted aid has received a boost in its requested budget of $240,500,000 by the Senate. For vocational and adult education, the Senate added over $132 million. Finally, for a vital program, the Senate increased the Right To Read funds from $12 million to $22 million.

I don't want to overburden you with figures, but they tell a story no rhetoric ever can. In the past, Congress has given, and I believe in the future will continue to give, valuable educational programs the support they need to be effective. It is doubtful that Congress will ever heed the call of those who would sacrifice future generations on the altar of so-called fiscal restraint.

Future Programs and Funding

Let us turn now to the complex question, Where do we go from here? Clearly, great change is in the offing, now perhaps as never before. The most obvious catalyst of this change has been the decision of the California Supreme Court to the effect that the inequalities associated with financing the schools through local property taxes amounts to a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Similar decisions have been made in at least five other states. Additional cases are pending in about thirty states.

Further, many educators and political leaders agree that overwhelming reliance on property taxes, so basically hinged to school financing today, is regressive, anachronistic, and resting upon inequity. They claim, with some merit, that it is wasteful, inefficient, and unfair to students, parents, and taxpayers.

There is nothing final about the California or other court decisions, but a final ruling by the higher courts will leave each state and the federal government with some monumental issues to face in school financing. The central issue does not seem to be what we are willing to provide but rather a question of how and where money is raised and how efficiently and equitably it is allocated, from all levels of government.

For the federal government to play a significant part in helping to eliminate reliance on the inequitable and regressive property tax for the financing of public elementary and secondary education would require a new federal revenue source. This issue is under intensive review, which is another way of saying nothing will be done soon. Several proposals are pend-

ing, including the value-added tax, but it is not yet clear whether this proposal is either appropriate or adequate. It surely will be some time after the fall elections before there will be serious movement on acquiring new resources. But whatever long-range strategy the federal government decides to take, it must be directed toward the prevention of dependence and the accomplishment of educational reform.

Let us now consider what types of federal support and reform we can expect. The *reasonably foreseeable funds* in the future will be sufficient only to meet certain or selected specific national educational priorities. Among these are possible reforms in educational research—the encouragement of innovation and renewal—career education, new directions in education for the handicapped and the disadvantaged, the Right To Read program, and streamlined grants-packaging procedures.

I would like to cite briefly the reform measures now before Congress and being considered for enactment, implementation, and funding. These are ideas that could revitalize the system.

Educational Renewal

One of the most interesting and controversial new concepts the Congress is considering is educational renewal, described as a program to better implement procedures for discretionary project grants. If accepted, it would change our procedures for awarding project grants to school districts so that various programs are coordinated more effectively at all levels. An educational renewal site would be the recipient of a single grant to develop a coordinated program for upgrading school personnel in its district.

Under the proposed new concept, the amount allocated to each category, instead of being specified in advance by the Office of Education, would be left to the discretion of the renewal site. Building on this core, the educational renewal site would develop a comprehensive plan for making the best use of all resources available to the school district, including other discretionary project grants awarded by the Office of Education. They would then prepare a consolidated grant application for these project funds.

A second significant feature of the proposed renewal strategy is the education extension agent, based on the concept of the agricultural extension agent. These non-federal agents will help individual educators define problems, provide infor-

mation on alternative, tested solutions, and follow up to see that necessary aid has been provided.

Educational Revenue Sharing

Legislation authorizing special revenue sharing in education, now pending in Congress, if enacted and funded, would replace many categorical formula grants with a single formula grant for elementary and secondary education. This would allocate federal funds to five broad areas: compensatory education for the disadvantaged, education of the handicapped, vocational education, impacted area aid, and supplementary support services. Within these broad categories, states and localities would have greater flexibility to determine the priorities and uses of the federal financial assistance flowing to them. Greater freedom for the states and localities could permit them to tailor packages that are more clearly related to the unique problems faced by each school district. *But we must ensure that the states would not receive less, under special revenue sharing, than they received in 1972 or in previous years from the categorical formula grants, and that new money will be added.*

Right To Read

The Right To Read program proposal provides funds to finance special demonstrations in overcoming illiteracy. The basic purpose of these demonstrations is to show school districts and other public and private institutions how to make significant improvements in reading. The funds currently available, plus additional funds, would be used for this purpose. The overall goal of the program—functional literacy by 1980 for 99 percent of the sixteen-year-olds and 90 percent of those over the age of sixteen—can be achieved only if current sources of funding are coordinated and used much more efficiently than they are at present. Indeed, the major role of the Right To Read program is to coordinate and provide technical assistance for the many programs that support reading. The special demonstration funds would enable the Right To Read staff to exert greater leverage so that these very large expenditures from other programs will have maximum impact on the literacy problem.

Career Education

Educators across the nation are placing increasing emphasis on career education. The Bureau of Labor Statistics

has forecast that no more than 20 percent of the jobs in the 1970's will require as much as a bachelor's degree, and that 80 percent of the jobs will be within reach with a high school diploma and some post-secondary schooling.

The basic purpose of career education is to make education at all levels more relevant to the world of work. This new concept goes beyond the traditional concept of vocational education. Indeed, it cuts across nearly all of the programs of the Office of Education. The budget and the congressional allowance include increases in a number of educational programs which are directly related to career education. These include training for educational personnel, research in vocational education and educational personnel, the development of new curricula, cooperative education, Upward Bound, and special services to disadvantaged college students.

The aspect of the budget which may have the greatest implication for the future direction of efforts in career education is the development of four career education models. The four models are school-based, industry-based, home-based, and residential-based. The school-based models encompass early childhood through high school and are designed to restructure the entire school curriculum around the career education theme. Depending on the evaluation of these models, a large-scale initiative in career education may be proposed in future budgets.

National Institute of Education

The establishment and enactment of the National Institute of Education could begin a new era in educational research and development. It will serve as a national focal point for educational research and experimentation. It will provide a mechanism for the dissemination of research results to state education agencies and the local schools. The results of this concentrated research and dissemination effort could put into practice the innovative types of materials and techniques that are needed to reform education. *Funding* for this program, plus a national foundation concept, and other innovations contained in the Higher Education Act will receive the early attention of Congress, as soon as budget requests are transmitted by the Administration.

Federal Switching Station

A strong objective of educational reform goes beyond amounts budgeted for specific programs such as educational

revenue sharing or career education. What may be needed is the introduction of integrated and flexible funding into our current operations and legislation to enable states and localities to integrate the delivery of educational services within their service areas.

Because many worthwhile projects deserving HEW support are too broad in scope to be wholly financed by one categorical grant-in-aid program, a prospective grantee is forced to divide his plan into parts that match the federal categorical programs. He must then hunt separate funding for each part. Perhaps what should happen is that the schools should come forth with an idea, and then the federal government should assume the responsibility of searching out the best possible funding sources and package them for the recipient. A switching station concept could change the present maddening, frustrating procedure. If a future grant applicant has a project requiring funding from several different HEW project grant programs, he will submit a single application to the switching station. This new organization could review the project as a single entity and, if it is approved, arrange to combine funds from the applicable categorical programs into a single integrated grant award. This is a most promising approach to establishing a grants-packaging capability in HEW and is being encouraged by Congress on a pilot basis for FY 1973.

The Student and the Taxpayer

These are but a few of the active items of current consideration that could provide reform and new direction in the achievement of national educational goals. But, I would hasten to add, these pieces of legislation, valuable as they are, will not be enough. For federal support of education to increase, both for the achievement of priority goals and the equalization of educational services, the taxpayer will demand, and rightly so, that these hard-earned dollars are achieving worthwhile ends.

We—you and I—must work to restore, build, and enhance a basic confidence on the part of the American people that education is of fundamental interest and does provide the most efficient method of treating major social ills. We must demonstrate that problems of the environment, racial relations, health, welfare, crime prevention, and rebuilding the American value system can be substantially improved through educational reform.

And above all, we must never allow ourselves, in our preoccupation with fiscal and administrative details, to forget what education is really all about: the student. Ultimately, we are concerned with what happens to children, what kinds of jobs they get, what kinds of lives they lead.

This is a noble end, but all too often it has become a rhetorical platitude. We have so far failed to show effectively that our expenditures are being translated into better lives for future citizens.

Several things are called for. First, a cost-effectiveness capacity must be built in the educational world that is capable of demonstrating the relationship between expenditures and results. This involves coming to grips with evaluation, information systems, and the development of comparative-analysis processes, now available or in operation in education in all too few states.

Second, performance standards and goals should be developed and perfected for educational personnel throughout the states. We should cease granting substantial salary increments without demanding an enhanced performance on the part of teachers and administrators.

Third, we should reserve the necessary time and energy required to establish within the elementary and secondary educational community, and throughout the nation, a consensus and agreement on important positions and issues. The educational process itself should be utilized to achieve such results. Many issues remain unresolved and consequently are inadequately addressed by public policy bodies such as state legislatures, the federal Congress, and state and local boards of education.

Fourth, the nature and degree of the future federal role in education should be better defined. Should the federal government markedly increase the proportion of its contribution, presently 7 percent to elementary and secondary education? If so, how should such revenue be raised and in what fashion should it be allocated?

Fifth, what should the relationship and respective roles and functions of private educational institutions be in relation to public education? This issue is reasonably well settled in higher education, but not so in elementary and secondary education.

Sixth, there are also some issues of a professional nature that need resolving, such as the relationship of educational quality and racial balance, the relationship of expenditure level to educational effectiveness, and the kind of resources

needed for the exceptional needs of large cities and rural areas. These should be settled before we make additional hard funding decisions.

Lastly, it must be determined what constitutes an adequate state level of equalization. The courts are following a rationale that education is of fundamental interest and the level provided must be a function of the wealth of a state, not a function of the wealth of a district. Following this, it is imperative that the educational establishment, with broad citizen involvement, describe a level of adequacy and a statewide financial equalization program in *meaningful terms.*

Further, it is inevitable, I think, that the question of national, interstate equalization will arise. We should be thinking about the desirability of this, the costs that would be involved, and the processes and controls necessary for carrying out this proposal. It is to be hoped that preliminary consideration of national equalization of education will save us from the traumas being encountered with respect to state equalization.

Conclusion

I wish I could have come before you with answers instead of questions, solutions instead of problems. Uncertainty does indeed prevail in all aspects and at all levels of our education system. Above all, the equalization question is a tough one. If indeed we do have to reorient the responsibilities among the levels of government involved, we have a slow, agonizing road ahead. Perhaps such proposals as the value-added tax and educational revenue sharing can do the job; perhaps even more bold alterations will be required.

In other respects, of course, things are not so muddled and confused. The record of the past few years evidences a clear willingness by the Congress to provide adequate funds, despite small budget requests, to maintain the productivity of existing programs. The legislation now being considered by Congress offers the possibility of better programs funded in a manner that will allow more efficient resource utilization by the states and the local school districts.

The most productive approach for those of us that work in and represent education in some capacity is to try harder and differently and to level with the public. We must argue the facts and merits at all times, and remember—the taxpayer, too, is idealistic and wants the same excellence in education that we fight for.

We must reach out into the education communities with even more compassion and determination to help lead our young people and adults away from the pitfalls that can eventually cripple our entire society. To do this, we must rededicate ourselves, in mind and body, to the task of education and training.

The nature of a free society demands that we take this course. We do not plan our future through centralized authority but, instead, allow our citizens, through free choice, to chart the directions society will take. Education is the foundation of this process. Through education, future citizens obtain the abilities and rational thought processes necessary to ensure that our development is sound, our sensibilities appropriate. It should be no other way.

Thus we are entrusted with a responsibility that is at once vital and ominous. It is a responsibility that must never be shirked. We must fight a constant battle on all fronts, for the future is indeed in our hands.

The Legal Setting

Legal options and constraints have powerful influence on the governance of state education systems. The three addresses that follow in this section of the institute report speak to a number of issues that reflect the way in which laws—and the administrative structure ordained by law—control educational governance.

Responding to the question, "After *Serrano* . . . What Can States Now Do?" Dr. Roger M. Shaw reviews the fundamental legal questions involved in *Serrano*-type court cases and suggests legal avenues open to the states in dealing constructively with the issues these cases raise. He concludes that the states can still do almost all the things they could before; there are no *pre*scriptions and only one *pro*scription: "The quality of public education may not be a function of wealth other than the wealth of the state as a whole."

Dr. Roald F. Campbell and Dr. Tim L. Mazzoni, Jr., employ the specific concerns of the current Educational Governance Project to describe some of the procedures being used to develop alternative models of educational governance structure. Although this study is structural in its emphasis, the problems being examined also reflect concern for the legal and fiscal frameworks within which state education systems operate and the implications of the differences among the states for educational policy decision making.

Dr. Marion A. McGhehey uses the recently reversed *Richmond* case in his paper, "After *Richmond* . . . Must Districts Be Restructured?" as a springboard for the analysis of one of the central legal issues in state educational governance: To what extent will educational policy decision making increasingly become a judicial function? Although this particular case centers on the problem of racial balance, the basic issue is one of application of the political concept of federalism to educational governance.

After Serrano . . . What Can States Now Do?

Roger M. Shaw
President
National Organization on Legal Problems in Education
Kent State University, Ohio

Two score and eight weeks ago yesterday, the surname of John Anthony Serrano began to become a kind of household word to thousands of educators, legal scholars, judges, government officials, tax experts, and legislators all across the country. For about four years the eleven-year-old Chicano plaintiff had known vaguely that his rather hopeless case was losing all the way to the Supreme Court of California. But then on August 30, 1971, by a six-to-one vote of a prestigious state supreme court,[1] a great state's school finance setup was found unconstitutional for failing to accord young Tony Serrano his constitutional right to equal protection of the laws.

Apparently a lot of lawyers were reading the papers. A lot of similar cases were subsequently filed—forty-five at latest count, in thirty states—and "Serranopiners" by the hundreds sprang into action. There is probably none in this room who, in his chiefly omniscience, doesn't fancy himself as a bit of an authority on the *Serrano* cyclone and none also who doesn't crave just a bit more insight on the matter. Came then from your program planners the almost plaintive interrogative, "What *can* states *now* do?"

Turning to the Target-Topic Query

A straightforward question deserves a forthright response. A proper answer (though a startling answer to the hand-wringing, novice *Serrano*-watcher) seems to be that

[1] Serrano v. Priest, 5 Cal. 3d 584, 487 P. 2d 1241 (1971).

states can still do all the things they could before—except one. That one forbidden phenomenon is that *the quality of public education may not be a function of wealth other than the wealth of the state as a whole.*

With full awareness of the perils of paraphrasing in things legal, this one *pro*scription may be restated thus: to the extent a state puts quantities of public education up for sale to quasi-local districts, district wealth must not be allowed to affect the quantity bought. Another recasting of the essence of *Serrano* is that "fiscal neutrality" must characterize the makeup of the subdivisions of the state (the districts) which are authorized to make decisions on levels of educational spending. As the meaning of fiscal neutrality becomes clear, so perhaps will *Serrano.* More and more common, also, is the key phrase "equal access to wealth."

The verbatim *Serrano pro*scription forbids making "the quality of a child's education a function of the wealth of his parents and neighbors." [2] There are no *pre*scriptions. If states don't stub toes on the equal-access-to-wealth cornerstone, their systems apparently are not constitutionally offensive, according to *Serrano* doctrine.

A Short Inventory of Major Alternatives

Having staked out *Serrano*'s *pro*scription, couched variously for increased lucidity, and having indicated that *pre*scriptions are absent, what then are the kinds of school finance setups the states can contemplate? From the combinations and permutations of factors that are your state setups and that do fit somewhere along the continuum between complete local support and full state funding, at least three seem presently to be constitutionally inoffensive.[3] They are:

1. Full State Funding, and
2. Equalization with No Leeway, and
3. Interdistrict Power Equalization.

All three of these were exhaustively and masterfully treated yesterday by Dr. Erick L. Lindman of the University of California at Los Angeles.

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[2] Serrano v. Priest, 5 Cal. 3d at 587 (1971).

[3] Johns, Roe L.; Alexander, Kern; and Jordan, Forbis. *Financing Education: Fiscal and Legal Alternatives.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1972. pp. 499-506.

A Somewhat Longer List of Political Possibilities

Founded, as *Serrano*-type law is, on one proscription and no prescriptions, educators and legislators in the several states need not presume that they have been straitjacketed out of all wiggle room. Part of *Serrano*'s inherent strength and vitality lies in what it does *not* do. Potboiling news stories and popular editorials sometimes to the contrary, *Serrano* in effect and for example (a) does not invalidate the property tax per se, (b) does not mandate completely centralized educational decision making, (c) does not go beyond state borders, (d) does not go inside any district border, (e) does not speak to the federal government, and (f) does not foreclose any popular surges of support for educational attacks on racial, social, environmental, or economical problems. The vast panoply of options is still there to be embraced or ignored at all state capitols as chief schoolmen and solons see fit.

Without being diagnosed as giddy with the altitude of even lower-slope Mount Hood, let me tick off a not-unthinkable list of political responses to *Serrano* and then realistically and soberly opine with unbecoming quasi-confidence as to what some of your legislatures might do. The fifty legislatures, exercising their plenary powers and primary responsibilities for education in your states, might come to believe that they should, and behave as if they could:

1. Further centralize *or* decentralize school finance and governance,
2. Go farther toward diversity *or* uniformity of educational experience,
3. Decide on "compensatory" extra outlays *or* absolutely equal-dollar outlays,
4. Preferentially treat the artistically or scientifically talented instead of the physically, mentally, or emotionally handicapped students,
5. Arrange extra dollars for the easement of municipal overburden,
6. Reward school districts according to the degrees of racial integration in the allocation of school funds,
7. Opt for elitism instead of egalitarianism,
8. Reorganize their official educational contraptions (districts) to be as large as the state or as small as the family, and
9. Opt for more property-related than income-related taxation.

This list can be extended, almost ad nauseam and ad infinitum, and is both included and truncated here to illustrate that the nub of *Serrano* is simply *equal access to wealth* and that the new and old choices must merely heed that one *Serrano* caveat.

Moving gratuitously beyond my legally can-do assignment into some quick political conjecture, I have the hunch that most legislatures will do something sooner or later. The *Serrano* spectre coupled with "But for the Grace of God . . ." may prompt legislatures to begin to think seriously about their states' patterns of resource inequality, to consider schemes to patch them up to pass judicial muster with as little as possible violent upset of existing policies, and probably ultimately to maintain a *mixed system* for both raising and allocating public school revenue.

A Momentary Oblique Attack

For variation on the theme, let me come at this challenge from a little different angle. Let me now, for a change of pace, attack the *Serrano* spectre as if it were your personal house ghost. The question then becomes, "After *Serrano*, what can the CSSO *now* do?" or "What can you, chief, *now* do?" As you are your state's status-leader in education, you are the one who, after the gavel has fallen on your *Serrano*-type case, should have done something about it, should have seen the handwriting on the wall, should have known just what legally and politically acceptable schemes and dreams ought to be on tap, *or* should have sensed perhaps in some instances that, given your relatively equitable setup, your state possibly has little to fear at the hands of litigious libertarians.

For a few moments, let's think of you instead of your state. There may be some solace as well as substance in the following three responses to this restated challenge. I submit that the more a fellow knows about school law, the better (not worse) he will sleep. My generalized response to the revised question, "What can chiefs *now* do?" is tripartite, as follows:

First, size up *Serrano* in all sobriety, including its growing string of subsequent settlements. After all, *Serrano* proper is almost a year old. *Serrano* is *Serrano*, and there is a great measure of stability in the law, but on the other hand, law is almost as dynamic as it is static. *Serrano* is not a casual case, but I am inclined to give it the same deliberate

(even if amateurish) analysis I think all cases that come to light in education should get from each of us. Most of us are not lawyers, but we are legally dry enough behind the ears to know that, any way you look at it, ultimately *law is what the court says it is*—be it repetitiously recapitulated, currently modified, or originally promulgated, be there constitutional or statutory language, be there precedent "on all fours," or be there none of these. There are several thousands of courts grinding out thirty thousand cases each year. To avoid entrapment in the casual-case syndrome, three key questions need to be asked:

1. Said by *what* court?
2. What *did* the court say?
3. Was it *solo* or *chorus?*

As you don your chiefly legal-eagle headdress for *Serrano* celebrations or séances, ask yourself the above questions, because upon the answers, from where you sit, depend many of your administrative moves with foresight or hindsight. Unless a court in your state or your federal circuit has said what *Serrano* means for you and yours, the *Serrano* cyclone may be drifting by unnoticed. *Serrano* is not controlling (is not the law) in perhaps a majority of the fifty states whose chiefs are here this morning, and indeed, *Serrano* need not necessarily even prove to be persuasive to your judges.

Even more important to realize, gentlemen, is that *Serrano* is not the law of the land—yet—and may never be.

The answers to the other two questions as to what the court really did say and as to whether or not its voice was discordant or harmonious in the vast symphony that is the body of the law will become clearer elsewhere in this presentation.

A second further response to the revised question, "What can chiefs *now* do?" is that, if *Serrano*-type law has been found to be the law for you and yours, you will, of course, go to work in your leadership role to figure out precisely what your court said and then set about to get legal—by patch-up or replacement of your constitutionally offensive system. Even if your court has not yet spoken, you may still want sage counsel as to the imminence of possible impact of *Serrano*-type law and the odds on successful defense by you as the chief state school officer. Lawyers thrive on their clairvoyance as to what courts and judges probably will do. If *Serrano*-type law has not come to your state yet (and

remember, please, that for a majority of you this is the case), you still have time to decide if you are an eager or a reluctant dragon on this one. Your leadership role is not yet legally cast, willy-nilly or *nolens volens;* it is still a matter of personal, political, and professional values and constraints. Personally and politically you might very well ride this one out. There are, on the other hand, CSSO's who will welcome their state's *Serrano*-type challenge. Your stance, chief, put in almost classic *Serrano*-type language, will doubtless "be a function of your very own personal energy and zeal if not a function of your very own personal wealth."

Whether you are defending or befriending or just waiting, you may want to use as much Forrestal finesse as you can. Many legal minds, especially governmental (statutory) counselors at law, tend to be conservative to the point of negativism. The reasons are many, but one certainly involves their win-loss records. If they counsel negatively against some action, nothing happens and nobody gets in trouble and nobody has to be represented and the cautious-conservative counselor has no case, so he loses no case.

The opposite of this is the positive use of legal talent. Undersecretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, just prior to World War II, was famous in naval administration circles for being the best positive user of legal talent in federal government. Spotting war clouds on the horizon during the late thirties, knowing full well that statutory law allowed the Navy to build only a few dozen planes, and those only in government arsenals, he gathered all the Navy lawyers together and said, "We must build thousands, not dozens!" and forbade them to say, "We can't." His best legal talent was thus charged with finding a legal means to do the necessary. If not yet under gun or gavel, perhaps a few positive legal and fiscal and political wizards could help you satisfy *Serrano* if it seems to be coming your way to stay.

And Now, Chiefs, Back to the Bar

After the foregoing gratuitous, and probably ingenuous, empathic effort, let's get back to the bar—or perhaps more productively—back to the "bar facts," chiefs.

Each of us knows some of the *Serrano* saga, and each of us craves a quick mastery of every bit of circumspect shakedown and shape-up as addenda, errata, and dicta come to light.

We should sense that it didn't all begin a year ago this month, August 30, 1971, in Sacramento, four-hundred and fifty miles due south of where we sit this morning. Actually, a string of equal-protection Fourteenth Amendment cases, beginning about 1890,[4] were brought not by aggrieved students but by tough-minded taxpayers seeking tax relief for themselves as various states were trying, from the plaintiff's viewpoint, just a little too much equalization at certain taxpayers' expense. In the course of three-quarters of a century, in grappling with challenges involving the states' duties to establish a "thorough and efficient system of education" (Sound constitutionally familiar, chief?), many courts were not at all loath to voice a tolerance for something less than full fiscal equalization for school districts. In a number of cases in this line of precedent, the Fourteenth Amendment's equal-protection clause was central in cases brought to thwart, rather than to foster, more educational fiscal equalization.

A second line of cases, up to and including *Serrano* a year ago this month, involves the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in pleadings by school-pupil plaintiffs for more equalization than interdistrict inequalities provide in many states. Genesis is quite probably, believe it or not, in the otherwise landmark case of *Brown* v. *Topeka Board of Education:*

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local government. . . . In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.[5]

A decade later in the "era of litigious libertarianism," about 1965, a theory was advanced by Arthur Wise that, as education seemed to be becoming a constitutionally protected right and must be provided on equal terms to all students, could not a finding of unequal protection of the laws be pleaded where a state, by accident of history or geography, arranges for fewer dollars for children in certain districts? By 1968 several suits[6] had been filed utilizing

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[4] Bell's Gap Railroad Co. v. Pennsylvania, 134 U.S. 232 (1890). Subsequent cases assembled and explicated in Johns, *et al.*, *Financing Education*, pp. 472-82. For up-to-date and competent synthesis of school finance and school law, this latter work, especially Chapter 13 by Alexander and Jordan, will be found invaluable by chief state school officers and their staffs.

[5] Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[6] Johns, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-89.

this rationale. Most of us were agog when the Detroit Board of Education took on Lansing, although the effort never quite came to trial or fruition. First blood was drawn in Florida in the complicated *Hargrave*[7] case, which turned on the statutory "millage gap" and which was later vacated and remanded on other grounds by the United States Supreme Court. Meantime, well-argued suits in Illinois[8] and Virginia,[9] which combined pleas of "educational need" along with "equal access to wealth," were lost partially for the lack of judicially manageable standards of educational *needs*. Then came *Serrano* v. *Priest*, and the worm turned. *McInnis* (Illinois) and *Burruss* (Virginia) were distinguished, education was found to be a "fundamental interest," and John Anthony Serrano's name began to bid fair to be forever famous in the legal and the fiscal lore of the public schools.

The 333 Days Since Serrano

The *Serrano* cyclone is not yet a year old. I dub it thus because it is more like an enveloping weather system producing cloudless skies in twenty states (no cases), partly cloudy (chance of severe thunderstorms) in almost a score of other states (cases pending), with stormy weather in nine states (cases settled). In six of the nine (California, Minnesota, Wyoming, Arizona, Texas, and New Jersey) there has been considerable storm damage to the school finance establishments, but in three of the nine stormy states (New York,[10] Missouri,[11] and Maryland[12]) threatened damage did not develop, as *Serrano* doctrine was not accepted. Some of us want it to rain; some of us don't. Most of us will take it as it comes. Some will want umbrellas. Some will seek to seed the thunderheads.

Of the nine *Serrano*-type litigations that have been settled since *Serrano*, the Christmas Eve decision in Texas[13] has now moved up from its per curiam, three-judge federal court hearing, as expected, and will be heard by the United States Supreme Court during its fall sitting. Briefs, including

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[7] Askew v. Hargrave, 401 U.S. 476, 91 S. Ct. 856 (1971).

[8] McInnis v. Shapiro, 293 F. Supp. 327 (1968) and 89 S. Ct. 1197 (1969).

[9] Burruss v. Wilkerson, 310 F. Supp. 572 (1969) and 397 U.S. 44 (1970).

[10] Spano v. Board of Education, 328 N.Y. Supp. 2d 229.

[11] Spencer v. Mallory, Civil No. 20058-2 (W. D. Mo. 1972).

[12] Parker v. Mandel, Civil No. 71-1089-H (D. Md. 1972).

[13] Rodriguez v. San Antonio Independent School District, 337 F. Supp. 280.

dozens from prestigious friends of the court on both sides, will all be in by August 20. Some of us are sanguine about the prospect of having *The* Court speak on a *Serrano*-type case so soon. But the more circumspect of us "Serran-observers" are not unmindful that of the nine cases since *Serrano*, three *Serrano*-like pleadings lost. Neither are some other "Serranophiles" oblivious to the facts that the United States Supreme Court has never previously accorded education the status of a *fundamental interest*, that such status is necessary to warrant *strict scrutiny*, and that *strict scrutiny* is a Warren Court device now being pleaded before a Burger Court.

Three Key Concepts for Us Knowledgeable Non-Lawyers

Serrano simply turned on *interdistrict equal access to money for education*. One of its strengths was this singleness of complaint. Unsuccessful plaintiffs in Illinois (McInnis) and Virginia (Burruss) had ambitiously complicated their suits by pleading inequities in both *money and need*. Money, courts understand. Unequal needs of unequal kids seemed sufficiently standardless to be judicially unmanageable, and *McInnis* and *Burruss* were rebuffed in state and federal supreme tests. In pure *Serrano* doctrine and strategy, educational needs are offstage and at stage-whisper volume.

Three other key concepts from *Serrano* for us knowledgeable non-lawyers need a bit of highlighting:

1. *Fundamental interest*. *Serrano* accorded education a very special status—higher than ever before and higher, for example, than either health or welfare—fundamental interest status.

2. *Suspect classification*. With money the nub of the pleading ("filthy lucre" and "root of all evil," etc.) and with some districts having it and some not, another legal concept, suspect classification, came into play. The interaction of these two concepts in successful *Serrano*-type actions to date has triggered a sharpening of the court's eagle eye, and this nexus of these two crucial concepts has come to demand strict scrutiny in determining the validity of the challenged state action.

3. *Strict scrutiny*. The keystone in this arch is the invoking of "strict scrutiny," that is, the court will require the defendants of the challenged school finance setup to show

that *there is no other constitutionally inoffensive way to do the job.* Strict scrutiny, in effect, gentlemen, is invoked, if possible, by plaintiffs to put the burden of proof upon the defendants. It tends to make the court unwilling to accord the state any "presumption of propriety." News that the United States Supreme Court will hear *Rodriguez* within one hundred days (briefs are due this month) prompts many of us to remain sanguine about *Serrano*, but in the same news came word that a Maryland federal judge [14] did not call for strict scrutiny in the *Serrano*-type suit in Maryland.

And So, Chiefs, the Forecast

In summation, chiefs, my response to the challenge, "After *Serrano* . . . What Can States Now Do?" is that, where and when *Serrano* prevails, states can still do all the things they could before except make the quality of a child's education a function of the wealth of his parents and neighbors and that, among currently conceived schemes, full state funding and equalization with no leeway and interdistrict power equalizing appear to be now constitutionally inoffensive under the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Throughout this presentation, ladies and gentlemen, there has been a fusion (or confusion?) of meteorological and legal lore. I may as well sign off with a weather forecast of sorts: As a "Serranoptimist," I predict that the *Serrano* cyclone will sweep slowly into the flood of economic and social change in this or the next decade—with or without the imprimatur of the United States Supreme Court—*because it fits the dominant mythology.*[15] When word of the spirit of *Serrano* gets around, chiefs, most of your Indians will be surprised to learn that *Serrano*'s requirement is not present reality; and most of your Indians, chiefs, can be depended upon to object intuitively and vehemently to the gravamen of *Serrano*, which is in essence *the deliberate bestowal of unmerited privilege by government.*

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[14] Parker v. Mandel, Civil No. 71-1089-H at 17 (D. Md. June 14, 1972).

[15] Coons, John E.; Clune, William H. III; and Sugarman, Stephen P. "A First Appraisal of Serrano." *Yale Review of Law and Social Action* 2: 119; Winter 1971. Much of the substance of this address was ultimately drawn from the first 167 pages of this superb journal, *supra*, which is subtitled "Who Pays for Tomorrow's Schools: The Emerging Issues of School Finance Equalization."

The Governance of Education: A Progress Report

Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzoni, Jr.
Educational Governance Project
The Ohio State University

We appreciate this opportunity to make a progress report to the chief state school officers of the nation. As of January 1972, the U.S. Office of Education approved a project entitled "The Governance of Education: State Structures, Processes, and Relationships." Martin Essex of Ohio, Ewald Nyquist of New York, and Jack Nix of Georgia, all colleagues of yours, became the Policy Board for the project. In addition, an Advisory Committee of eleven members, including your own John Porter of Michigan, was established. A contract was let to the Ohio State University for the major study of the project, and the two of us became the project directors.

The major objective of the project is the development of some alternative models of educational governance. The program is planned for a two-and-one-half-year period. Over the past six months we have been engaged in a number of tasks. To begin with, we have taken account of other studies of both general governance and educational governance at the state level. In our own work we make about one hundred fifty specific references to these related studies.

As a second task, we have developed our own approach to the study of educational governance at the state level. While building upon what others had done, we found it necessary to conceptualize a framework that would seem to contribute most to the purpose of the study.

As a third task, we have collected a great deal of information about the governance of education and related matters in all the states. It is clear that we cannot study in depth, within the limits of our time and resources, all fifty states; hence we have been faced with the selection of twelve or thirteen states for detailed case studies. To assist in the selection

of these states we have collected information about all the states in four major categories: (a) socioeconomic characteristics, particularly wealth and industrialization; (b) the political culture; (c) governance structure, both general and educational; and (d) the nature of policy decisions in eight selected policy areas. Further elaboration of state selection and policy areas will be provided below.

As a fourth task we are now engaged in an eight-week training seminar for the nine persons who will play major roles in doing the case studies. In order to provide a comparative analysis among states it seemed essential that the same research approach be used in each of the states. To ensure this common format for the studies it seemed necessary that we have a training program for all participants so that they might become thoroughly familiar with the framework. Moreover, it appeared desirable for the entire group to participate in a pilot study where research procedures might be tried and modified if need be. We are using Ohio for the pilot study.

We hope what we have said to this point provides some sense of what the project is about and what has been done to date. We would now like to share with you some of the major decisions we have made. They include the selection of the level of governance, the selection of major policy areas, the selection of states for the case studies, and the selection and development of the research framework. Finally, we would like to project the study over the next two years and its implementation even beyond that.

Governance at the State Level

We have discovered that the phrase "governance of education" means many things to different people and brings forth a variety of latent images of what we are about. For some, governance refers to higher education, for others, lower education. For some, governance refers to policy making, for others, policy implementation. For some, governance suggests the local level, for others, the state level, and for still others, the national level. Clearly, for any finite project some limitations have to be imposed. We decided to look at the governance of elementary and secondary education and to focus on the state level. This decision leaves out higher education except as it intersects with lower educa-

tion. It also leaves out local and national governance except as they are related to state governance.

Why the state-level focus? A number of reasons prompted this decision. In the first place, we believe that most major policy decisions are made at the state level. States have constitutional responsibility to establish and maintain public school systems. Governors, state legislatures, state courts, state departments of education, and other state agencies are constantly occupied with the making of policy decisions consonant with that legal mandate. While national policy making for education has become increasingly important over the last few decades, and while state policy is often affected by national policy, we hold that new models for educational governance can most appropriately be considered by the several states.

Second, as governors and legislators participate in policy making for education, many of them find that educational demands occupy an increasing proportion of their time and require an increasing proportion of the state budget. These political leaders also share some of the disenchantment that many people now experience with respect to our institutions, including our schools. As a result, political actors frequently raise questions about our pattern or model of educational governance. Most chief state school officers probably have heard these expressions of concern. Frequently, such expressions question the protected or separate status of education in state government. These questions have been given specific expression in such bodies as the Education Commission of the States. In a recent meeting convened by that body, we heard Governor Askew of Florida express that concern about as follows: "I campaigned on educational issues, and now that I am elected, I refuse to be kept out of decisions pertaining to education." Askew and others are demanding new models of educational governance.

Third, with growing national influence in education, we think that state influence should be increased to provide an appropriate balance. Indeed, that is what federalism is all about. From the beginning of this nation we have thought some balance between state and national influence should be established. In recent years states have seemed derelict in holding up their end of that compact. While we would not deny the importance of national action, we think states must be in the position of influencing and modifying that action. Indeed, local control, a strong tradition in this country, can probably not be protected without appreciable state influence.

To say it otherwise, we think education will be governed best when there is interdependence among local, state, and national agencies. States need to help preserve that interdependence.

Fourth, most state departments of education recently have recognized the increasing importance of planning, research, and evaluation to their operation. This new emphasis is related to the demand for more resources for education, to the growing concern with accountability in education, and to some disenchantment with our schools, as noted earlier. Most state agencies are not yet very good at these new functions, but many attempts, frequently with federal assistance, are being made to become more effective in generating and using information for decision making, whether it has to do with such problems as school district structure or the effectiveness of a particular instructional program.

Finally, recent court decisions such as *Serrano* in California and *Rodriguez* in Texas portend a role for most states not heretofore conceived. It seems quite likely the United States Supreme Court will reaffirm the point that most current state school finance programs are unconstitutional. If states go to full or essentially full state funding for the public schools, a substantial realignment of resources will be required in most states. Quite frankly, more money will be required for the poor than is now the case. The realignment will not be easy. Before it is achieved, governors, legislators, chief state school officers, and many others will be deeply involved. All of this suggests another reason for examining the structures and processes of governance at the state level.

Major Policy Areas

Having decided to focus at the state level, it then became necessary to decide what to look at. Clearly, all policy decisions could not be examined. Nor should only one or a few types of decisions be scrutinized. We then asked ourselves what the critical policy areas were. Our initial formulation included six areas: (a) professional development and certification, (b) desegregation, (c) planning and evaluation, (d) financial support, (e) district reorganization, and (f) teacher bargaining. In our first meeting with the Policy Board, two additional areas—curriculum reform and nonpublic school support—were added. We then wondered just

how critical these eight policy areas seemed to those who participated in making policy in each of the states.

This concern led us to go to key informants in each of the states. Initially, we asked the governor, the chief state school officer, and a selected professor in each state to indicate on a five-point scale from +2 to —2 just how critical they judged each of the areas to be. Shortly, we added the heads of state teacher organizations to our list of informants. As of July 10, 1972, we had received responses from 56 percent of the governors, 90 percent of the chief state school officers, 76 percent of the professors, and 63 percent of the teacher organization heads. A total of 143 responses out of a possible 228, or 63 percent, were received. In terms of ratings given by all respondents, degrees of criticalness are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—TOTAL RATING VALUES GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS TO PROPOSED POLICY AREAS

Policy Area	Rating Value
Financial Support	237
Planning and Evaluation	169
Curriculum Reform	122
Teacher Bargaining	108
District Reorganization	93
Professional Development and Certification	90
Desegregation	54
Nonpublic School Support	45

One wonders how desegregation and nonpublic school support can be rated so low. We then analyzed our responses for each state. In California, desegregation was ranked +6 and was exceeded only by financial support at +8. In New Hampshire, on the other hand, desegregation ranked —6, the least critical of all the areas. In similar fashion, nonpublic school support ranked +5 in Massachusetts, Ohio, and Washington and —4 in Michigan and —3 in Florida and Indiana. Clearly, degree of criticalness varies among states and perhaps varies by time period.

These considerations may argue that we should retain all eight policy areas even though we find some of them less critical in some states at this time. We also suspect that by looking at a variety of policy areas we will identify a greater number of actors who participate in making policy decisions. For instance, it seems reasonable that teacher organizations

would be more active regarding policy making in the certification area and that business groups would be more active in financial support areas.

However, if we are to examine how eight or more policy decisions were made in each of twelve states, we have at least ninety-six decisions to analyze in detail: for each decision, how the demands were generated, who the actors were, what compromises were effected, the nature of the enactment, and procedures established for implementation. Such an analysis for ninety-six decisions seems to be impossible. Thus we are giving serious consideration to an examination in four areas in each state in great detail and decisions in the other four areas in less detail. We would still like to test the proposition that the actors change, at least to some extent, according to the nature of the decision.

Selection of States

We began early collecting material related to the governance of education for each of the fifty states. For instance, we learned with interest that the chief state school officer in Tennessee is appointed by the governor and is a member of the governor's cabinet. We also noted the recent reorganization of the governor's cabinet in Massachusetts and the inclusion of a secretary of educational affairs in that cabinet. It soon became apparent that we needed a more systematic way of looking at educational governance in each of the states. As part of this consideration, it seemed to us that each of the states might first be viewed in terms of its political culture and socioeconomic development. Perhaps many differences among states could be explained by differences in these factors alone. If this were true, it then followed that we must have other data about each of the states. We settled on two other categories—governance structure and nature of policy decisions. We spent several weeks developing dimensions that would permit us to describe states in these four categories.

Since this whole exercise was largely for the purpose of assisting us in the selection of states for the detailed case studies, we felt we must do the task as expeditiously as possible. This meant relying on the work of other scholars who had examined states across various dimensions. As many of you already have discovered, any attempt to compare states on any dimension is a most difficult task. With considerable persistence we have developed over forty dimensions in the

four categories mentioned above. In the socioeconomic category we have settled for "wealth" and "industrialization," each of which has a number of subsets. Political culture was treated as a single dimension, largely the extent of a reform tradition. We divided governance into general governance and educational governance. Under general governance, illustrative dimensions include the "power" of the governor and the "effectiveness" of the legislature. Under educational governance, illustrative dimensions include degree of "citizen control" and the "professionalism" of the state department of education. For each of the eight policy areas we have one or more dimensions. For instance, under financial support, the dimensions include "amount," "equity," and "effort"; under planning and evaluation, the dimension represents "state commitment to planning and evaluation"; and under teacher bargaining, the dimension deals with the continuum of "soft" to "hard" bargaining.

We found, through a correlational analysis in which each of these variables was correlated with each of the other variables, that many of the differences among the states can be explained in terms of their socioeconomic or political culture characteristics. For instance, industrialization and wealth in New Jersey do much to distinguish that state from New Mexico. In like manner, the reform tradition in Minnesota seems to explain in large measure how that state differs from Mississippi. With the socioeconomic and political culture variables held constant, through a partial correlational treatment we then examined the relationships between governmental structure variables and the nature of the policy decisions in each of the states. In terms of our purpose—the building of alternative models of governance—we became much interested in these structure-policy outcome relationships. A summary of the data available to us for this analysis is shown for each of sixteen states in Table 2.

As a result of these analyses, we selected twelve states, plus the pilot state of Ohio, as the states where our case studies would seem to have greatest potential for explanatory power. Moreover, in this tentative selection we had a number of pairs of states, alike in many respects but different in some ways of great interest to us. New York and California, Minnesota and Wisconsin, and Florida and Texas are such pairs. However, in this first cut of states we noted that two regions of the country, the Plains and the Rocky Mountain area, were not represented. This consideration led us to consider Nebraska and Colorado in place of some states initially selected. Illi-

TABLE 2.—DESCRIPTIVE VARIABLES FOR SELECTED STATES, GIVEN FOR THE MOST PART IN STATE RANKINGS

	General Characteristics			Governance Variables							Policy Area Variables					
State	Industrialization (Composite)	Income Per Capita	Political Culture	Governor's Powers (Composite)	Leg. Effectiveness (Composite)	SBE Selection	CSSO Selection	CSSO Salary	SDE Budget/ School-Age Child	SDE/LEA Ratio	Percent State Support	Eval. and Plan. (Composite)	Collective Barg. (Composite)	Curr. Reform (Composite)	Finance—"Amount"	Finance—"Equity"	Finance—"Effort"
N. Y.	5	2	6.3	1	2	O[a]	SB[c]	1	11	37	15	13	4	7	2	14	26
Calif.	6	8	6.4	4	1	A[b]	E[d]	8	36	50	28	21	10	3	30	29	45
Mass.	4	9	6.3	10	29	A	SB	16	40	29	44	28	6	35	11	33	37
La.	39	44	1.9	25	33	E	E	24	22	32	8	48	39	45	28	15	10
Tenn.	23	42	1.4	14	26	A	A	26	29	8	19	46	46	33	47	35	38
Fla.	15	27	2.2	47	4	O	E	12	9	21	9	3	30	2	24	13	36
Tex.	19	31	2.8	50	38	E	A	22	46	42	15	29	46	1	29	28	28
Mich.	10	12	7.9	4	8	E	SB	5	47	49	23	27	4	32	13	41	18
Minn.	21	18	8.9	4	10	A	SB	34	42	39	18	33	3	14	15	36	6
Wisc.	14	25	7.9	25	5	—	E	41	31	24	37	22	12	24	14	20	21
Ohio (Pilot)	8	14	4.8	10	16	E	SB	2	45	47	41	20	34	12	32	17	46
Colo.	34	17	8.2	25	28	E	SB	8	24	46	39	2	40	16	19	47	17
Neb.	31	21	6.3	19	9	E	SB	41	34	21	48	26	24	45	44	24	50
Ill. (Alt.)	7	6	6.2	1	3	—	E	16	28	39	23	37	22	8	5	23	31
Ga. (Alt.)	26	34	1.2	31	45	A	E	21	12	18	10	36	38	26	48	11	48
N. J. (Alt.)	1	5	6.0	4	32	A	A	4	27	14	43	16	6	19	4	43	28

[a] Other. [b] Appointed by governor. [c] Appointed by state board. [d] Elected.

nois, with a long history of no state board of education and the only state with a school problems commission, also became an attractive alternate, but we left it in that status.

We have recommended to the Policy Board that we do case studies in thirteen states listed in Table 2. A number of arguments can be advanced to support this selection:

1. Seven of the ten megastates are included.
2. Most structural variations of major interest are found in these states.
3. Several chief state school officers reportedly active in changing governance arrangements are included.
4. Many of the states experiencing recent court actions are on the list.
5. All major regions of the country are represented.
6. Some clustering of states to facilitate comparative analysis is possible.
7. For most of the states named, background data are available.
8. Finally, it seems that ready access to each of the states is possible.

Framework for the Case Study Research

To reiterate, the primary objective of the project is to develop alternative governance models, models that will emphasize a state-level focus. With this in view, our intent is to examine present arrangements for state educational governance, to identify in these arrangements some of the elements of new models, and to provide empirical data relevant to assessing the outcomes that these models are likely to have if adopted. We are organizing the research to answer these basic questions:

1. What major policy decisions have been made recently by state education policy systems? Who made these decisions? How were they made?
2. What differences exist among state education policy systems in respect to selected policy-making dimensions?
3. How much and what kind of difference does governmental structure make for the way states vary on these policy-making dimensions? Why does structure make this difference?

4. What other factors explain the variations that exist among states on the policy-making dimensions?
5. What mechanisms exist at the state level to ensure the local implementation of education policy decisions? How adequate are these procedures?

In answering question number one, case study teams will be required to ascertain what policy decisions, such as statutory enactments and court decisions, have been made recently in the eight issue areas. Documentation reporting these decisions will need to be secured. It should be noted that our definition of a policy decision includes action by authorities to maintain the status quo as well as the establishment of new goals and directions. Since there are likely to be many more decisions than can be investigated, it probably will be necessary to select, with the help of appropriate informants, a small number, perhaps four or five, for a thorough examination of participants and process.

To get at question number two, and after much thought about how the research could be made most relevant to our model-building efforts, we finally decided upon these steps: (a) to define a comprehensive set of state policy-making dimensions, (b) to gather through case study research information about these dimensions in each of the states to be investigated, and (c) to seek in the case studies other data relevant to explaining the different patterns states exhibit in respect to policy making. With these data in hand, we think we can move to the development of alternative models and to a projection of how proposed models probably will work in practice. The first step noted above is in process. A tentative set of dimensions is given below.

POLICY-MAKING PROCESS	(Refers to the process through which educational demands are converted into policy decisions.)
Openness	Degree to which diverse individuals and groups, as well as broad constituencies, are represented in the state education policy system.
Participation	Degree to which influence is centralized or decentralized in the making of state education policy.

Rationality	Degree to which research-based planning and evaluation information is generated and utilized in the making of state education policy.
Efficiency	Degree to which scarce resources are expended ("costs") to obtain particular state education policy decisions.
Consensus	Degree to which conflict among actors is legitimated in the making of state education policy.
Professionalization	Degree to which the expertness of professionals is the source of state education policy.
ENVIRONMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS	(Refers to the relationship of the state education policy system to its social and governmental environment.)
Support	Degree to which the state education policy system obtains scarce resources from its environment.
Equity	Degree to which the state education policy system redistributes educative resources among social groups.
Regulation	Degree to which the education policy system provides for the implementation of state-level policy.
Adaptiveness	Degree to which needed innovations are adopted by the state education policy system.
Accommodation	Degree to which conflicting interests of social groups are reconciled in the making of state education policy.
Autonomy	Degree to which the state education policy system is functionally differentiated from other state policy systems.
Leverage	Degree to which the state education policy system initiates and sustains interaction with federal and local systems.

The selection of state policy system dimensions was based on much discussion and advice. We hope these dimensions will be looked upon as being the important ones by a variety of interested parties. The choice of these, as opposed to other characteristics, was judgmental. But it should be stressed that we have not attached values to any particular position on the dimensions. Put differently, a state policy system will be described on each of the dimensions in terms of "more" or "less," not "good" or "bad."

It is one thing to conceptualize a set of dimensions; it is quite another to design research that will produce accurate descriptions and convincing explanations. For the past month we have been hard at work devising data-gathering instruments to be employed in the case studies, using a set of comparable policy decisions as the point of departure.

As for question number three, we already have obtained some information through the correlational analysis used to help select the states. This analysis has been of value in detecting gross relationships involving socioeconomic development, political culture, governmental structure, and the nature of policy decisions. But to collect data that is fully responsive to the question demands that the intensive search possible with the case study be combined with the generalizing power of the comparative method.

Although we feel that our basic research strategy must be the comparative case study, there are problems inherent in this method—for example, that of many variables with a small number of cases—which somehow must be minimized. More specifically, in order to answer the question of what difference structure makes, it is necessary to take into account the effects of other factors. Despite there being no completely adequate way to do this, we have designed our research so that at least some "controls" can be instituted. For example, our procedure for selecting states involved the choice of pairs of comparable cases. That is, the states in each pair were similar in a number of important attributes (e.g., political culture and socioeconomic development) but dissimilar in respect to structural features (e.g., the separation of educational governance from general governance).

The last part of question number three, along with question number four, means that we must seek to explain "why" as well as to describe "what" and "when." Again the problems are many and formidable. Still, we are confident that there are regularities across state policy systems and that useful generalizations can be made about the factors at work

in producing particular patterns of policy-making characteristics. This is not to deny that there are unique elements of importance in the policy process of each state. But it is to affirm that our principal effort will be to generalize.

To guide our search for explanatory factors we have accepted the utility of a political systems orientation. Simply stated, this orientation posits an interactive model in which demands are converted through the political process into such outputs as policy decisions. We further assume that influence is central to the interaction among system actors; that policy determination is competitive, characterized by individuals and groups seeking to influence each other so as to obtain decision benefits. Drawing, then, upon both systems and distributive theory, we have explicated an analytic schema in which the considerations relevant to understanding state education policy making are set forth.[1] Rather than present this framework in a formal manner, we have listed below some of the categories that we think will have explanatory power:

1. Beliefs, attitudes, and values of official actors (e.g., the "saliency" they attach to educational issues).
2. Recruitment and background characteristics of official actors (e.g., their "career mobility").
3. Role expectations of official actors (e.g., the "policy role expectations" that CSSO, state board members, legislators, and governors hold for themselves and for each other).
4. Policy-making behavior of official actors (e.g., the "leadership style" of the governor).
5. Policy-making behavior of interest groups, parties, and social movements (e.g., the "lobbying activity" of state teacher associations).
6. Established procedures for making state education policy (e.g., the nature of "routine" in policy-making organizations).
7. Social norms that guide policy making (e.g., the reliance on "expertness" as the basis of educational policy).
8. Linkages to other policy systems (e.g., the process of "emulation and competition" among states).
9. Political traditions of state education politics (e.g., the strength of the ideal of "localism").

[1] This schema is delineated in Campbell, Roald F., and Mazzoni, Tim L., Jr. "Investigating State Education Policy Systems: Methodological Approach and Research Framework." (Unpublished resource paper.) Educational Governance Project, The Ohio State University, May 5, 1972. pp. 9-80.

While we have not explored basic question number four in full, we turn now to question number five. We are concerned here with the mechanisms at the state level that ensure the implementation of policy. All of us probably have experienced the apparent enactment of new policy only to discover later that everything has remained the same. This may result from failure to appropriate money for a new program, failure to provide any sanctions if the new program is not implemented, or failure to place responsibility for the enforcement of compliance. We are convinced, therefore, that we must not only find out how the policy decision was made but also determine that it was a real decision.

Some of our advisers have suggested that we ought to follow policy decisions from the state level to the district level and even to the school level. We think this kind of effort would be useful, and indeed it could help answer the question of what difference policy decisions make in the actual operation of schools and possibly in the opportunities afforded to the clients of the schools. Much as we are interested in propositions of this kind, we see no way within time and resources available to us by which such extended implementation concerns can be made a part of the major study. Quite possibly some of our research associates will find questions of this kind of sufficient interest to be pursued on an individual basis.

However, we do expect to apply a number of criteria to the adequacy of implementation mechanisms. These include the following: clarity and extent of communication regarding the policy enactment, comprehensiveness of implementation procedures, extent of organizational resources committed to implementation, evidence of compliance and adjustment, and appraisal of degree of implementation by those who participated in the policy enactment.

From Here On

We have tried to share our progress to date with you. We have reviewed the kinds of decisions our study has required. What about the future? We would like to mention the tasks we still see for the project. We would also like to suggest some activities in which you may wish to engage.

The initial proposal for the project described nine tasks or activities to be undertaken roughly in chronological order. We have moved on four of those tasks: the review of related

studies, the establishment of a research framework, the selection of states for the case studies, and the selection and training of case study personnel. The big task for this coming year is to complete the case studies. We anticipate that most of the field work will be done during the autumn of 1972 and that the analyses and reporting of the cases will be completed no later than June 1973.

With the case studies in hand, five other tasks remain. The first is the development of governance options. From the case reports, a number of governance options, possible components of more comprehensive models, will be developed by the central staff. Each of the options will be analyzed logically and in terms of the empirical evidence available.

The next task requires that we formulate and administer a survey embodying the governance options to a number of groups in and out of education. The central staff will perform this function, but cooperation will be required from each of the groups whose members are to be included in the survey. The preparation, administration, and analysis of results will require the period February through May 1973.

On the basis of all work done to this point, the central staff will devote the period June through September 1973 to the development and explication of alternative models of governance. A consultant will be used to help with legal codification of the models if that level of development seems desirable.

From October through December 1973 from seven to nine regional conferences will be organized and held for the purpose of examining the alternative models. A cross-section of persons with interests in education and government will be invited to each of the conferences. Central staff, Policy Board members, and Advisory Committee members will participate. In addition, an observer will be used at each meeting. Feedback from the conferences will be used in re-working the models.

From January through June 1974 the central staff will prepare reports on a comparative analysis of the states and on the alternative models. Tentative documents will be reviewed by the Policy Board, the Advisory Committee, and representatives of other appropriate groups. Final reports will be available to the U.S. Office of Education, to all persons who have cooperated in the study, and to interested groups.

These activities probably will mark a termination point for the contract now in effect at the Ohio State University. However, in planning the project it was anticipated that

some money would be reserved to be used for the dissemination of project findings and recommendations. It was thought that some agency with ready access to political and educational leaders in the several states might be given a contract to do such things as prepare brief popular reports on the alternative models, prepare as needed a number of specialized reports for different audiences in and out of education on the nature and implications of the various models, and encourage and perhaps assist many groups in and out of education to use the model formulations as part of the agenda for their annual meetings.

But what about chief state school officers? We realize that all of you have plenty to do. You hardly need more do-gooders like us making your life more difficult. Still, the governance of education at the state level, your own level of operation, is in question. But this is a stage upon which you are not the sole actors. Governors, legislators, judges, and many of influence sometimes upstage you. At the same time we think you cannot drop out of the cast in a funk. We suspect you must remain on stage and insist on being among those who decide how education shall be governed and among those who have a part in that process. We hope this project can provide you and others who make governance decisions with an empirical and conceptual base to help you with the task.

If the project is to serve you in that way, you will need to remain in touch with it. We hope to come back again when we will have more to say about our findings and our proposed models. We also hope to provide you and others who will influence the state governance of education with readable documents that will help you think through the specifics of possible changes in your own state. Finally, we hope each of you will become a dissemination officer for the project, helping all those who play roles in governance to make the best possible use of the ideas and materials growing out of the project.

After Richmond . . . Must Districts Be Restructured?

Marion A. McGhehey
Executive Director
Kansas Association of School Boards, Topeka

The January 5, 1972, decision in *Bradley* v. *School Board of the City of Richmond* has once again brought the desegregation problem near the boiling point, and a new element has been added to the already explosive issue of busing. It has been slightly over one year since the decision in *Swann* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education.* In that case, the United States Supreme Court held that it was within the equitable powers of the federal district courts to order the busing of school children within the boundaries of a single school district in order to bring about racial desegregation in the schools of the district. The Court also upheld the assignment of faculty on an integrated basis, pairing and grouping of noncontiguous school attendance zones, and the use of optional majority-to-minority transfer arrangments.

In several places in the opinion, the Court discussed the nature of the equitable remedy, returning again and again to the topic. Early in *Swann* the Court indicated that "if school authorities fail in their affirmative obligations under these holdings, judicial authority may be invoked." In discussing the extent of this equitable authority, the Court said that "the scope of a district court's equitable powers to remedy past wrongs is broad, for breadth and flexibility are inherent in equitable remedies." Later in the case it was said that "the nature of the violation determines the scope of the remedy." And still later it was said that "no fixed or even substantially fixed guidelines can be established as to how far a court can go, but it must be recognized that there are limits." The deliberate vagueness of court opinions is the substance out of which future cases are made, and *Swann*

has provided material for the case at Richmond and for the case at Detroit.

The question posed by the *Richmond* decision may be stated as follows: Is it within the power of the federal judiciary to order the consolidation of two independent subordinate units of state government in order to bring about racial desegregation? Judge Merhige's order directed that within thirty days the three school districts of Richmond, Henrico, and Chesterfield be consolidated into one school district, and that within sixty days a plan be designed to create a majority white student body in each school within the new school district. The first part of the order was rationalized on the basis that it would be practically impossible for the city of Richmond, standing alone, to achieve the white-majority racial mix in each attendance center demanded by the latter half of the decision and order.

Upon appeal, the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit reversed the district court, holding that the judge of the district court had exceeded his powers of intervention. Several points were made by the circuit court which are worth listing.

First, the circuit court called attention to the *size* of the district that would be created by the forced consolidation. It is apparent that this caused some concern to the court, although this concern was not explained further.

The circuit court then pointed out that the racial-mix theory adopted by the district court was not constitutionally required: this was the second half of the district court's order, as described above. The white-majority thesis was based primarily upon the testimony of one of the expert witnesses, Dr. Thomas Pettigrew, who established a 20-40 percent black enrollment in each attendance center as the most desirable racial mix to produce integration of the races. The circuit court held that this conclusion was prohibited by *Swann* v. *Board of Education:*

> The desire of the district judge to achieve such a racial mix is quite understandable since the evidence seemed to indicate its workability in practice. But we think the adoption of the Richmond Metropolitan Plan in toto by the district court viewed in the light of the stated reasons for its adoption, is the equivalent, despite disclaimer, of the imposition of a fixed racial quota. The Constitution imposes no such requirement, and imposition as a matter of substantive constitutional right of any particular degree of racial balance is beyond the power of a district court.

The third point made by the Circuit Court of Appeals was that there was no evidence the establishment and maintenance of the boundary lines of the three school districts for over one hundred years was motivated by considerations of perpetuation of racial discrimination in the schools of any of the three school districts. The court found that the schools of each of the three school districts had been racially segregated prior to the *Brown* decision in 1954 but that there was nothing in the record or in the opinion of the district court that suggested there was any interaction *among* the three school districts to keep "one unit relatively white while confining blacks to another."

The court expressed the opinion that the root causes of black concentrations in the large cities of America have not been found, and went on to say:

> Whatever the basic causes, it has not been school assignments, and school assignments cannot reverse the trend. That there has been housing discrimination in all three units is deplorable, but a school case, like a vehicle, can carry only a limited amount of baggage.

The court placed a great emphasis upon the statutory procedures available in Virginia for consolidating two or more school districts, in order to show that the State Board of Education, acting alone, could not produce the kind of consolidation ordered by the district court. Under Virginia law, all consolidations must be initiated by action of the school boards involved, and the State Board's authority exists only as to approval or nonapproval of the proposed consolidation. Under the provisions of the only law in which the State Board of Education was empowered to act upon its own initiative, it could create a "new school division" but the separate school boards of the former school units would continue to function. Thus, if Richmond, Henrico, and Chesterfield had been combined as a school division under the existing Virginia law by the State Board of Education, the three former school boards would continue to function separately and there would not be a single school board to govern the school division.

The circuit court also placed considerable weight upon the complexities of the financing scheme involved in the type of consolidation ordered by the district court, because each of the three school districts had a separate tax base and, under the fiscal dependency system in Virginia, the consolidated school district would have to look for three separate

governing bodies for approval and support of its budget.

But perhaps the most important section of the circuit court's opinion is that devoted to the analysis of the federal structure of government. Since this analysis appears to be crucial to the decision, it is set forth here in outline form:

1. Under the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, those powers not specifically delegated to the United States, or prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people.

2. One of the powers reserved to the states by the Tenth Amendment is the power to structure their internal government. It should be apparent, even to a casual student of government, that the states have exercised this power in a wide variety of ways.

3. When a state exercises power wholly within the domain of state interest, it is insulated from federal judicial review.

4. If, however, the state exercises its power as a means of circumventing, for example, the Fourteenth Amendment rights of blacks to attend a unitary school system, then the Tenth Amendment is brought into conflict with the Fourteenth, and the latter must prevail.

Applying these four principles to the extant case, the circuit court held that the *establishment and maintenance* of the three separate school districts involved had not been shown by the facts of the case to have been intended to circumvent any federally protected right. Nor, said the court, had the *consequence* of the state's action in establishing the three school districts been found to impair any federally protected right, for there is no right to racial balance within even a single school district, citing the United States Supreme Court's decision in *Swann*. Hence, under the requirements of *Swann* that a violation of a federally protected right is a condition precedent to intervention by the federal judiciary, the judge of the district court was not authorized to intervene to order the consolidation of the three districts.

The Circuit Court of Appeals also cited *Spencer* v. *Kugler*, a New Jersey federal court decision in which black plaintiffs sought to compel the consolidation of separate school districts within the state of New Jersey in order to achieve racial balance and prevent de facto segregation. The three-judge federal court denied the petition, holding that de facto segregation was beyond the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment. Upon appeal, the *New Jersey* decision was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court.

The next step in the *Richmond* case is, of course, up to the United States Supreme Court. While it is difficult to predict the eventual decision of any court, a decision upholding the forced consolidation of the three districts in Virginia would be almost directly opposite to the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the *New Jersey* case.

A case very similar to the *Richmond* case is presently languishing in the Federal District Court for the Southern District of Indiana. This case involves eleven districts in Marion County, Indiana, the largest of which is the Indianapolis City Schools. Within Marion County there are two other city school districts, Speedway City and Beech Grove, and eight township school systems. In 1969 the Indiana General Assembly passed what has been popularly (or unpopularly) known as the Uni-Gov Act, which merged virtually all of the civil functions in Marion County except schools and except for those civil powers exercised by Beech Grove and Speedway City under the city-county council. School corporations were specifically exempted from Uni-Gov.

The United States brought an action against the Board of School Commissioners of the City of Indianapolis, alleging failure to desegregate the schools of Indianapolis. In ruling against the school board, the district court relied heavily upon the "tipping point" theory, which it described as having been reached whenever the ratio of blacks in a school district approached 40 percent of the total population. Beyond that point, according to the theory, the white exodus begins and, once begun, becomes irreversible. The court then expressed the opinion that the desegregation problem would be minimized if all the school districts in Marion County, that is, within the Uni-Gov territory, were brought under one school board, perhaps with the addition of the Carmel area in Hamilton County immediately adjacent to the north, and the Greenwood area in Johnson County immediately to the south. Both of these areas are quite clearly a part of metropolitan Indianapolis.

The court raised, but did not decide, a number of questions about the school structure, the principal question being whether the Uni-Gov act, by excluding school districts from the county-wide merger, was unconstitutional "as tending to cause segregation or to inhibit desegregation of the Indianapolis School System." The court's order was handed down on August 18, 1971, and since that time all of the school districts in Marion County have been joined as defendants. But there has been little further action other than the filing of

various motions by the defendants. By way of speculation, the *Indianapolis* case will probably not move further until such time as the *Richmond* case is decided by the United States Supreme Court.

And while we must wait for a time to have the final answer to the question originally posed relative to the power of the federal judiciary to compel the consolidation of school districts to effect racial desegregation, two cases decided by the United States Supreme Court decide the reverse question: May a state create a new school district if the result is to impede racial desegregation? In *Wright* v. *Council of the City of Emporia*, and in *United States* v. *Scotland Neck City Board of Education*, both of which were decided on June 22, 1972, the United States Supreme Court voided the creation of a new school district upon a finding that it would impede the dismantling of a dual school system. In *Wright* v. *Emporia*, the decision was on a five-to-four vote, with Justices Stewart, Douglas, Brennan, White, and Marshall constituting the majority. A vigorous dissent was written by Chief Justice Burger, and he was joined in the dissent by Justices Blackmun, Powell, and Rehnquist. In the *Emporia* case, the city of Emporia attempted to withdraw from the Greensville County, Virginia, school system under a state law applicable to cities of the second class. The Circuit Court of Appeals had reversed the district court's finding against the creation of the new district, reasoning that racial discrimination was not the "dominant purpose" of the city of Emporia in deciding to establish the new district. The Supreme Court held that the real issue was not the *purpose* of the act, but rather its *effect* upon the dismantling of the dual systems involved, citing a number of federal cases involving the formation of splinter districts.

The dissent in *Emporia* stressed that the reasons set forth by the majority opinion were not based upon the record in the case and that the acts of the city of Emporia were not motivated by a desire to discriminate. Referring to the record of the case, the dissenting opinion concludes by saying:

> Read as a whole this record suggests that the District Court, acting before our decision in *Swann*, was reaching for some hypothetical perfection in racial balance, rather than the elimination of a dual school system. To put it in the simplest terms, the Court, in adopting the District Court's approach, goes too far.

The *Scotland Neck* case, which arose in North Carolina, was decided in the same way on a similar factual situation and needs no further amplification at this point.

The case at Detroit, *Bradley* v. *Milliken*, decided on June 14, 1972, by Judge Stephen J. Roth of the United States District Court, Eastern District of Michigan, Southern Division, although different in some essential respects from the *Richmond* and *Indianapolis* cases, is worthy of examination within the context of our topic. In the *Detroit* case, Judge Roth has issued a sweeping order, directing the preparation of a desegregation plan by a special panel designated by the court for the express purpose of developing a pupil assignment and pupil transportation plan involving the city of Detroit and fifty-three suburban school districts. He has further ordered the Detroit School Board to purchase 295 school buses, to be paid for by the state of Michigan. He has directed the State Board of Education and the state superintendent of education to "consider the factors of racial balance along with other educational considerations in making decisions about new school sites, [and] expansion of present facilities." It is probably the most extensive court order in history in terms of its probable effects upon the internal affairs of the particular state involved. The Circuit Court of Appeals has stayed the execution of the order, and a hearing has been set for later in the month (August 1972). The *Detroit* case is fully as important as the *Richmond* case, because, while the fifty-three school districts are not consolidated with Detroit by Judge Roth's order, the power of the school boards of the fifty-three school districts to operate is substantially vitiated and every decision made subject to review on its possible effect upon desegregation in the city of Detroit.

If the United States Supreme Court agrees with the philosophy of the district court in either Richmond or Detroit, it will magnify the power of the federal judiciary at the expense of state and local government. It is hoped that the United States Supreme Court will read again Chief Justice Burger's dissent in *Wright* v. *Emporia:*

> A local school board plan that will eliminate dual schools, stop discrimination and improve the quality of education ought not to be cast aside because a judge can evolve some other plan that accomplishes the same result, or what he considers a preferable result, with a two percent, four percent or six percent difference in racial composition. Such an approach gives controlling weight to sociological theories, not constitutional doctrine.

Contrast this statement with Judge Roth's conclusion in the *Detroit* case, in referring to the proposed desegregation plans proffered by the Detroit Board of Education, the State Board of Education, and the plaintiffs that:

> None of the submissions represent a complete plan for the effective and equitable desegregation of the metropolitan area, capable of implementation in its present form. The court will therefore draw upon the resources of the parties to devise, pursuant to its direction, a constitutional plan of desegregation of the Detroit public schools.

And the United States Supreme Court might very well read further into the dissent in *Wright* v. *Emporia* where it is said that:

> This limitation on the discretion of the district courts involves more than polite deference to the role of local governments. Local control is not only vital to continued public support of the schools, but it is of overriding importance from an educational standpoint as well. The success of any school system depends on a vast range of factors that lie beyond the competence and power of the courts. Curricular decisions, the structuring of grade levels, the planning of extracurricular activities, to mention a few, are matters lying solely within the province of school officials who maintain a day-to-day supervision that a judge cannot. A plan devised by school officials is apt to be attuned to these highly relevant educational goals: a plan deemed preferable in the abstract by a judge might well overlook and thus undermine these primary concerns.

The acceptance of the theory expressed by the district court judges in Richmond and Detroit could also lead to the formation of school districts of gargantuan dimensions around New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, Washington, D. C., Kansas City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, as the boundaries of these districts are expanded in search of white students to produce a more satisfactory degree of racial desegregation in the central city. The result of such a development would be the creation of school districts of such a size as to be incapable of either effective instruction or administration, and although statistical desegregation might be achieved, the real goal of equal educational opportunity would continue to recede.

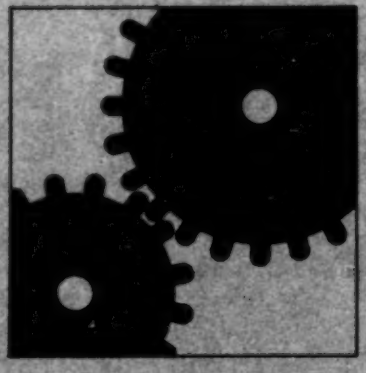
At stake in both Richmond and Detroit is the always tenuous balance among federal, state, and local control of the day-by-day decisions affecting the operation of schools. The district courts in both Richmond and Detroit have clearly

exceeded the powers granted to the federal judiciary under the United States Constitution. It is hoped that the United States Supreme Court will support the reasoning of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in the *Richmond* case and limit the operation of the federal judicial power in desegregation cases to those instances in which a state has acted directly and clearly to violate rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution. The imposition of federal judicial authority where the states have failed to redesign their internal school district structure in order to implement a particular racial mix acceptable to the federal district courts would place in the hands of the federal district judges a degree of authority that is beyond both their training and their experience. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in either the *Richmond* or the *Detroit* case will undoubtedly be one of the most significant of this century insofar as the operation of the public schools is concerned. Justice Powell probably will not participate in the decision in the *Richmond* appeal because of his earlier involvement with the case as a member of the Richmond City Board and of the State Board of Education. The final determination of these cases is probably a year or more away.

The more immediate action will probably be in the political arena, not in the courts. Depending somewhat upon the outcome of this fall's congressional elections, there may develop a considerable flurry of activity in the Congress to deal with the "busing problem." It is highly unlikely that the state legislatures will act to force consolidation of school districts as a means of aiding the desegregation problems of the larger cities of this country.

Given the present composition of the United States Supreme Court, the odds are against a judicial remedy of the magnitude suggested by either *Richmond* or *Detroit*, and given the present mood of the electorate, it is not likely that there will be legislative activity to force restructuring of school districts. A period of less dramatic action may lie immediately ahead as the season of "benign neglect" continues for another four years. And so the likeliest answer to our question is "no" for the foreseeable future.

Operational Problems



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Although the political, fiscal, and legal settings together constitute the basic matrix in which governance of state education systems is embedded, a large number of other forces impinge on the actual governance operation. Some of the resultant operational problems are discussed in the five papers constituting this section of the institute report.

Dr. John W. Gott, in his address, "PPBS: Management Data for Governance," discusses the use of a specific management technique as a governance strategy. He outlines succinctly the role and limitations of PPBS in the decision-making process, stressing its importance as a conceptual tool, not merely a convenient management device or a simplistic economic model.

Under the whimsical title, "The Ungovernable Curriculum," Dr Fred T. Wilhelms combines an analytic assessment of our present school curriculum with a forceful plea for greater concern on the part of all educators, not chief state school officers alone, for a renaissance of the humanistic goals in curriculum development.

Recognizing the direct effects of mandated auditing and monitoring activities on the governance of educational programs, Dr. Robert E. Kraner reviews the basic requirements for these activities and concludes that, while external surveillance of such programs is an essential management activity, basic decision making must still reside in the hands of professionals charged with the governance of education.

In "Urban Pressures on the State Education Agency," Dr. Ercell I. Watson, drawing on his unusual experience as one of the first black superintendents of a major urban school system, sets forth vividly—with emotion but without rancor—the special problems and consequent needs of the urban school as it appeals, sometimes fruitlessly, to the state education agency for help.

Finally, in the closing address of the Institute, Dr. George B. Brain considers with the participants "Assessment Programs: Data for Decision Making." He concludes that programs of assessment of educational progress, adroitly designed and skillfully administered on either the national or the state level, can constructively influence educational decisions without restrictively governing education.

PPBS: Management Data For Governance

John W. Gott
Superintendent of Schools
Lacey, Washington

I am informed that the theme of this conference is "Governance of State Education Systems: Pressures, Problems, Options." My task is to address you on the topic, "PPBS: Management Data for Governance."

I am reasonably sure that a great portion of your attention thus far has been concentrated upon the pressures and problems that characterize your responsibilities. I venture to express the opinion that even in this conference you find less opportunity than you would like to have for consideration of the options available to you. I know how it is. When one is up to his hip pockets in alligators, he tends to lose sight of the swamp-draining objective.

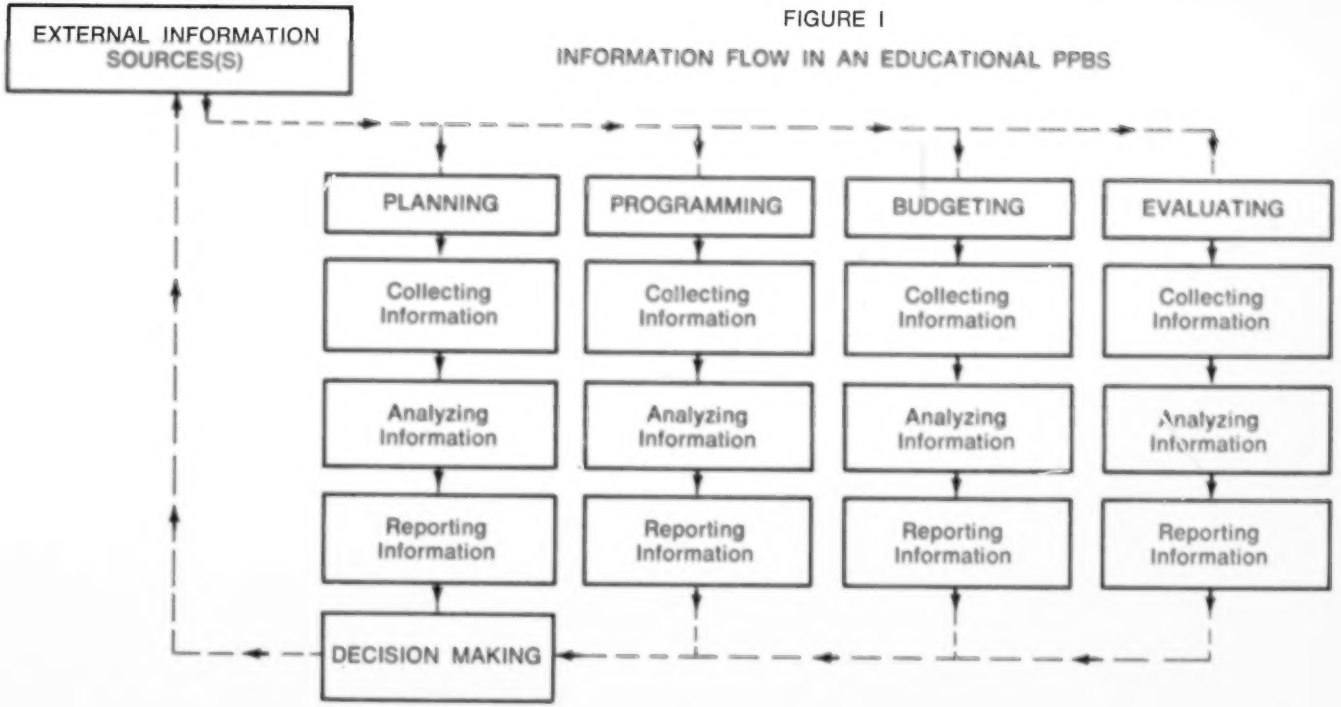
My presentation to you has been properly categorized in the operational portion of the total program. PPBS—planning, programming, budgeting system—is most basically an operational tool or set of tools. Like tools generally, PPBS is capable of both proper use and improper use. Also like tools generally, the value of PPBS is directly dependent upon the character of its use.

You as chief state school officers are faced with the problem of managing limited resources to achieve for your state the greatest possible educational benefit. PPBS has been defined as "a system aimed at helping management make better decisions on the allocation of resources."[1] There is a possibility that this tool called PPBS has value for you. It may be useful to assist you to drain the swamp and keep the alligators away from your hip pockets all at the same time.

[1] Hatry, Harry P., and Cotton, John F. *Program Planning for State, County, City.* Washington, D.C.: State-Local Finances Project, George Washington University, 1967. p. 14.

FIGURE I

INFORMATION FLOW IN AN EDUCATIONAL PPBS



I mentioned a moment ago the idea that resources are limited. Now I would like to point out that one of your greatest potential resources is information or *management data* for support of decision making and perhaps also for defense of decisions made. (The alligators again!)

It is really great to have the right information at the right time. Argyris spoke to this point when he wrote:

> . . . It is important to point out the underlying similarities between the basic assumptions of an effective organizational development program and the planning, programming and budgeting system (PPBS). Both assume that an organization should be able to generate and bring to bear upon a problem all the relevant information and do so in time so that it is useful to those trying to solve problems and make decisions. A relatively closed living system will produce a rigid, incomplete and ineffective PPBS program because it cannot generate the valid data, nor could it integrate these data if they were to become available.[2]

One of the very distinctive characteristics of a PPBS for use in education must be provision for timely generation of information relevant to the problem at hand. I think I can illustrate this relationship and also get a brief description of an appropriate educational PPBS by use of Figure I.

Operationally, your problems can be classified within four question areas:

1. *What* is to be accomplished? (Planning)
2. *How* is the desired end to be accomplished? (Programming)
3. *What* resources are allocated for execution of the selected action program? (Budgeting)
4. *How* well—
   a. will the program function to achieve the desired end, or
   b. is the program functioning to achieve the desired end, or
   c. has the program functioned to achieved the desired end? (Evaluation)

I have referred to these four items as question areas. What you and your staffs do in response to the need for information in each of the areas constitutes some sort of an operating PPBS. Your procedures may be well defined and clearly

[2] Argyris, Chris. *Some Causes of Organizational Ineffectiveness Within the Department of State.* Washington, D.C.: Center for International Systems Research, 1967. p. 48.

thought out, or they may be little more than instinctive reaction to felt need. Whatever your point of development of PPBS, I am reasonably certain that an abundance of conflicting notions about the system have deterred you somewhat from achieving all that you have desired to achieve. I contend that PPBS is not:

- –Program accounting, although accounting by programs may be properly involved as part of a PPBS.
- –A new budgeting system, although this may naturally develop as a result of the application of PPBS logic.
- –Budget centered, and never should be, because PPBS emphasizes output rather than input.
- –A new accounting classification scheme, although this may ultimately be necessary to provide the data which you will require.
- –A management information system, although a management information system is an essential support for PPBS as per the comments of Argyris.[3]
- –A decision maker, although its purpose has to do with facilitating the making of decisions.
- –Accountability, although it supports accountability.
- –A panacea, although it is potentially a useful tool.

On the other hand, I think PPBS *is:*

- –A structured procedure for determining policy in the allocation of resources.
- –A way to relate resources to objectives and facilitate decision making.
- –A tool that must be peculiarly designed to accommodate the needs of the user.
- –An approach to management that emphasizes coordination of diverse activities for the purpose of enhancing decision-making capability.

Better PPBS programs emphasize:

- –Planning, especially long-range planning
- –Analysis of alternatives
- –Coordination
- –System responsiveness
- –Goals and objectives
- –An output orientation
- –Common sense
- –Involvement
- –Priorities
- –Resource identification.

[3] *Ibid.*

One of the most common pitfalls encountered by those of us who attempt to formalize a PPBS program is that we do not give appropriate consideration to pertinent knowledge from all of the related discipline areas. The most frequently occurring thought pattern is probably that PPBS will be viewed as an economic model and will not be made congruous with what we know from the fields of sociology, psychology, politics, and educational research. Such a limited perspective inevitably will produce the rigid, inflexible, and ineffective PPBS that Argyris mentioned.[4]

You as chief state school officers face major responsibility for the character of the PPBS employed in your respective departments and inevitably for the character of the PPBS programs employed in the districts within your states. It would be generally disastrous for your systems and theirs to be incompatible. I would like to enumerate some questions that I believe to be critical ones for your consideration as you face this task. Most of these questions, as you will see, are concerned with management data in some fashion.

One of my favorite quotations comes from a work by Joseph Schwab. Schwab said:

> In general, two collections of phenomena appear to be vastly different because we have used separate and distinct bodies of conceptions in studying them and discovering knowledge about them. Each such body of conceptions dictates what data we think we should seek, what experiments to perform, and what to make of our data by way of knowledge. If widely different conceptions are used to guide inquiries on two different collections of phenomena, we end invariably with bodies of knowledge which exhibit few similarities and many differences. . . . The differences we see disappear if, but only if, a new conception is given birth which permits the study of both collections of phenomena in one set of terms and therefore makes for unity where diversity existed before.[5]

In light of this quotation, my first suggested question for your consideration is, How is education conceptualized in your state, what are its purposes, what are its products, and what are the directions of its change? The answers to this question will tell you what data to seek and what experiments to perform and will define the character of the knowledge you can make of the data once it is gathered.

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[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Schwab, Joseph J. "Structure of the Disciplines: Meanings and Significances." *Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum.* (Edited by G. W. Ford and Lawrence Pugno.) Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964. p. 10.

A second question you should consider is this: Who needs which data, who can produce it, when is it needed, and in what form will the data be most useful?

A third question relates closely to number two. This question is, How long will this set of circumstances be likely to endure, or how soon will the answer that is presently appropriate become inadequate perhaps because of the changing nature of education itself?

A fourth question is very practical: Among those who need this information, do there exist skills and attitudes adequate to support their effective use of information once received? In my own studies regarding implementation of PPBS in education, I have found that there exists among educators grave apprehension regarding their own abilities to function effectively under the rigorous demands of a PPBS program. They feel the need for higher-level skills in many areas, but particularly in techniques of analysis and in techniques of working with precisely stated objectives. I have also found that the great majority of educators look to their state departments of education as the primary source for leadership and assistance in developing these skills.

There are some great potentials for improvement of education that in my admittedly biased judgment must be the inevitable consequence of widespread utilization of a PPBS in the management of public education. For one thing, I believe it inevitable that the PPBS will foster development of information, which in turn will encourage much more rapid response by the educational establishment to emerging needs and opportunities. Because the PPBS stresses examination of alternatives—both alternative goals and alternative programs to achieve those goals—I think it inevitable that we will become less blindly bound to tradition than has historically been the case. As one illustration, data currently available suggest that many public school students are achieving required competence in specific learning areas by means other than formal course work. One cannot but wonder what the cost of duplicating learning activities may really be in our nation. One may also speculate over the benefit our people might realize from the application of such wasted resources—if in fact they do exist—to early chilhood education. Widespread use of PPBS may yield some concrete answers in place of speculative opinion. Tradition could then be much less binding upon us.

Something else I see as a major potential for improvement in education as a result of use of PPBS is the likelihood

that we will reduce our incidence of failure. Explicit attention to specific goals and objectives, weighted and prioritized, will permit us to identify places where current patterns of resource allocation are being relatively unfruitful. When data of this sort is available, we will know where to put those resources in order to increase their yield of benefit. We will have a lower failure rate in the places that count the most.

I said earlier that I consider PPBS a tool. Like most tools when they are relatively new, PPBS has not yet been developed to its full potential. It is not yet really sophisticated, nor are we who attempt to use PPBS possessed of a very high degree of sophisticated skill in its application. PPBS is a conceptual tool that is evolving. No executive mandate and no legislative fiat will cause PPBS to spring in an instant into full flower. But PPBS does offer real hope for helping us to combat our pressures, find solutions for our problems, and recognize our options.

The Ungovernable Curriculum

Fred T. Wilhelms
Senior Associate
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
Washington, D. C.

The ungovernable curriculum, eh? Shouldn't there be a credit line in there somewhere? "Title contributed by the irrepressible Ken Hansen." I can just see Ken grinning as he wrote it and hear him impishly muttering to himself, "This time I'll box old Fred in so he can't just stir around in the stale stuff he always says. I'll *force* him to be creative."

Well, it worked, in a way. He forced me to scratch my brain till it bled. I took out all my old speeches to find one that would fit. None did. So Ken won. But now he has to take some responsibility for what comes out.

So Ken thinks the curriculum is ungovernable. Do you suppose he's just piqued because we don't require Latin any more, the way they did in Oklahoma when he was a boy? To a white-hair set in his ways, that might be enough to make the curriculum look like a wild, chaotic thing, in a constant whirl of change. But if that's what Ken thinks, he has the wrong pig by the ear. Why, gentlemen, our curriculum is the nicest, tamest, stablest thing we have left. It's as governable as a graveyard, as long as you let it alone. As in any graveyard, you can even open a hole here or there and bury something new in it, as long as you don't disturb the scene. It's *everything else* but the curriculum that changes. We turn off the bells, pull out the classroom walls, wipe out the dress codes, but Ol' Man Kricklem, he just keeps rollin' along.

When you stop to think of it, it's kind of odd how we came up with the kind of curriculum we have. You'd think that, where billions of dollars and millions of man-years were to be invested, there would be endless deliberation over the choices. But that has rarely been the case. Of course the reading/writing/arithmetic part of it was a natural. Plain

common sense takes you that far. Beyond that, people were on their own. They were in a zone of far more free choice than anybody after Plato has seemed to realize. But they seldom really chose; they mostly just drifted.

Let's look at a little history. In the early Renaissance, when schools were starting to grow again after a long dry spell, almost the only stuff worth reading was in a pair of foreign languages, Latin and Greek. They contained a treasure house of wisdom, so the schools sensibly taught them. Common sense governed that, too. But long after all of the old and much that was new became available in the vernacular languages, the schools went on teaching the same foreign languages. That was *not* governed by common sense. Finally, after centuries, Latin and Greek died a lingering death. By 1950, the modern languages, also, were mostly just getting a dab of formalistic attention, out of old habit. Then a new situation arose: the Russians beat us to Sputnik, and Congress decided that we had fallen behind for lack of youngsters who could speak Spanish. It appropriated funds to intensify the teaching of languages, along with math and science. The foreign language people seized the opportunity with some very fast footwork. They convinced a lot of people once more that a respectable secondary education had to include a foreign language. And so a lot of kids are spending about a fifth of their secondary years learning one.

Two other habits also grew out of the old Latin/Greek tradition. Those highly inflected languages had been approached through a grammar of rules. When we started teaching our own language, naturally it had to have a grammar of rules, too. The old Latin teachers good-naturedly supplied one. It didn't happen to fit our language, and evidence piled up that it didn't help writing or speech very much; but a lot of rigid people with a sense of inadequacy about their own speech and writing felt a hysterical need for a prop. So enormous effort was put into teaching grammar.

By the second world war, though, grammar, too, was dying a malingering death. And then another odd situation came along. A new breed of scholarly linguists began examining how our language really works. They did marvelous work—fluid, creative, dynamic. They shot down the old rigid grammar and substituted a new approach. But now thousands of teachers are making a rule book out of *it*, because everybody knows there has to be *some* kind of grammar of rules. The preliminary evidence says this one isn't necessarily any better than the old one in producing writers and speakers.

But we go on anyway, and our kids are spending years of their lives on *that*.

Another heritage of studying the Greek and Roman classics was simply the habit of studying "classics." Not, this time, because you needed what they had to say, as the Renaissance people did. It was just that there had to be *some* body of literature everybody knew—along with its history and all that. There had to be some group of treasures—like *Silas Marner* and *The Lady of the Lake*—so precious that no child was really educated unless he had dissected them. That idea is in its feeble senility now, but the years of children's lives sacrificed to it still number in the millions.

Another line of curriculum development came out of our own nationhood. When we became a self-governing republic, it was obvious that our citizens had to grow intelligent about managing their societal business. So we developed the social studies, including a course called civics. It became a study of structures. After all, no young voter could do his work well if he didn't know how old a man had to be before he could be a senator! Somehow the ideas fell through the sieve. The Founding Fathers, who had never had a course in civics, wrote a Bill of Rights that has been the keystone of our democracy. Today's civics alumni, the polls show, would probably turn it down if it came up for their vote.

The ideas fell out of history, too. Patriots of earlier generations insisted on an American history to provide roots for our tremendous, revolutionary venture. Patriots of our own day insist that it be gone through at least three times, because they have faith in its unique ability to produce patriots. Hardly a child comes out of it without a deep awareness of the Pilgrim Fathers. The rest is history.

As we became a great technology, two further needs arose. The first was for science. Because it was new, and in tune with our times, we worked more thoughtfully on this. Years ago, we converted it from the formal, classificatory descriptions of old botany toward a real study of life. We played around with new syntheses in the physical sciences. In the "Progressive" years we tried hard to tie science to the realities of life and the technology. Unfortunately, our teachers fell badly behind, technically. They taught old stuff a real scientist could hardly remember; in their laboratories they taught drills for a game of certainties instead of the nervy quests that are the heart of a life of uncertainties.

The scientific scholars caught us out. Around 1960 they substituted new and valid content. Like true Progressives,

they tried—just as unsuccessfully as the Progressives had—to move teaching toward open inquiry. We owe them a lot for that. But they also injected another element for which they ought to pay. They were zealots for the disciplines that were almost their very lives. They wanted them left pure. They didn't want much messing around with the involvement of real life, or of societal concerns. Science was amoral and they wanted it left that way.

For a few short years the brighter youngsters rose to their vision and burned with the hard, gem-like fire of scientific zeal. Do you remember, about ten years ago, the fervor of your future physicists? Then they caught on. They looked at the world around them, beset with the climaxing threats of the great technology, and they simply said, rightly or wrongly, "This just isn't where it's at." Their shibboleth was "relevance," and they looked for it elsewhere, disdaining even to criticize the science courses as they criticized the social studies and the humanities—even while they gravitated toward them. After all the ballyhoo, science was on the sidelines. Too bad! We still need it.

Another demand of the technology was for workers trained to its peculiar tasks. We made an unconscious choice there: much of the training could have been done in the old apprenticeship way, and we lost something when we assumed that the new needs were so fancy they could only be met in the schoolhouse. So we added shops and commercial courses and that sort of thing. A few—a very few—out of all the tremendous variety of jobs became our darlings. Let auto mechanics stand as the type. Middle-middle class vocations taught to middle-middle class children. And in each vocation we got married to a few skills, no matter what their prospect for obsolescence. The fact that, for millions, a typical factory job could be learned in a few hours influenced us little. The further fact that, even for many others, a productive job is easy to learn while the complexities of the consumer side of economic life have grown enormously impressed us even less. The fact that for our society as a whole the age-old problem of producing enough is essentially solved, while the problems of equitable distribution and wise use continue to rise, impressed us still less. We were left with a bare, sterile, arbitrarily delimitated program of vocational education. One hopes that the vision of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, his conception of career education, may finally alter that; but one had better guess it will have hard sledding.

OK. There's your ungovernable curriculum. Not all of it, by any means, but enough. I know I have burlesqued it, at some points savagely. But with some leeway for that, have I been far off the mark of reality? Anyway, I have been trying to build background for two basic points.

First, we have come to where we are mostly by drift and accretion, with occasional moves to solve some problems, but with far more of habit and a mindlessly timid conformity to respectable tradition. Very little of the content we have today is there out of a reasoned analysis of the needs of our time. Very little of it has any real wallop; most of it just lies there—inert, deadwood.

Second, and here is where the main trouble lies, we simply don't think of curriculum in any fundamental way. Mostly we just take for granted a certain body of knowledge and skills, not out of any rational analysis, but just because that's what has been in there for a good many years. We tinker with that here or there, drop some factual materials, add others, but we don't come at the curriculum with the deep questions of what we want it to *do*. We hardly ever raise questions as to what causes what, what is likeliest to produce what we want.

Real curriculum work is a deep philosophical questioning. Nothing is sure about it—not even the purposes. That's where it has to start. Then curriculum work is a cunning, calculating questioning of what input causes what output. Plato knew that when he wondered whether it was safe to teach poetry to young men, lest it ruin them for the tough life of war and statecraft. One may question his notion, but how I wish we would see once more that sort of quizzical probing! (Incidentally, he and his school wrought an enormous change which altered all Western history. When Socrates preached "Know thyself," the long-run effect was to turn men inward upon themselves. It snuffed out a burgeoning natural science that might have anticipated much of our technology by centuries. Whether that was good or bad is another question. But it illustrates the fundamental choices we keep making, often unconsciously; and it also illustrates the power education has.)

But enough of history and diatribe! What must we do *now?*

The first, biggest job is to think our way back to *purposes*. We have got in the jam we are in because we have lost sight of them in our anxiety about content.

Deciding on our purposes means first analyzing our *needs*—the needs of persons and the needs of society. There

is simply no substitute for this: we absolutely have to go all the way back to an analysis of fundamental needs and then decide on the purposes we mean to achieve. Unless we do this, if we try as usual just to make changes here and there in content and method and organization, we're just "playing house." The changes we have to have are so fundamental and radical that no superficial short-cuts will work. When I say that sort of thing to teachers, and even to principals, they give me a "Who? Me? I'm such a little fellow" look. And in their way they're right; they're locked into a system with terrific inertia, with all the interlocking elements of courses of study, college entrance requirements, and so on. But men in your high positions might be able to swing it. I can't guarantee that even you would win, but you'd have a chance if you employed good strategy.

One question in that strategy concerns the size of the unit to work on. We mostly work at revising individual courses. That's taking too small a bite. It amounts to little more than fence-mending, necessary enough at the moment, but leading to no real progress. Or, less often, we try to think in terms of the whole curriculum at once, as I'm forced to do today. That's relatively futile, too; it's too big, too unmanageable to do much more than whip up some froth. We need a more effective unit of work.

I think the right-sized unit is what I'll call the "stream." Leaving out for the moment the basics of readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic, I see the curriculum as a whole falling into four great streams:

1. The social studies
2. The humanities
3. The science-math approach to the technology
4. Career education, which may be partly merged into the others but also needs an identity of its own.

I think it is sound and practicable to treat each of those four streams as an entity, analyze the needs it is to serve, decide on the big purposes to shape it by, and then go hunting for the content and methods that have the best chance of achieving those purposes.

Now for the means of attack on each area. At San Francisco State College in the early 1950's, when we totally revamped our general education program, I learned the device of the "area committee," and I want to recommend it to you. We worked in four areas that had been selected on the basis of a needs study. I was on the one called "socio-civic." We knew pretty well that the courses eventually

established in this area would be taught by our social scientists. But I wasn't a social scientist. Neither were about 60 percent of the others on the committee; they came from every division of the college. Only about 40 percent were social science professors.

That was the genius of the arrangement. If we had turned the thing over to a committee of social science men, they would just have rearranged what they already had. That's what we almost always do, and that's almost always the result. What you need is a skeptic from physical education who says, "Where does all that detailed chronological history get you, anyway?" With a committee containing such diversity, you can start quarreling—and that's essential. You can cut through the accumulated deadwood and argue about purposes. We knew we were going to have twelve units of general education in the socio-civic area. Our question then was, What do we want those twelve units to *do?* Much later in the game we could start pondering what kinds of offerings were likely to do what we wanted done.

I should say that the area committees were not permitted to go all the way in shaping the program. That was part of the genius of the arrangement, too. They built a set of demands and sketches. Then they said to the specialists, "All right, now you guys plan a set of offerings that will do the job; you're the experts." But they still kept a monitoring role, to accept or reject what the specialists produced. What the social scientists first proposed were just thinly devised variants of the old model, and they got told off. Eventually, out of a couple of years of bruising argument, we worked through to a really creative program.

Now it's that sort of thing I'm suggesting that you get going on each of the four major streams. Of course, it would no longer be enough to have just the professional educators in the act. They must remain central; but you also need the public, including young people. And in each area you need the most sensitive analysts and consultants you can get. Neither will it be enough to have just one big state commission in each field—though you should have that. You need its counterpart in every community, every district. You need to have hundreds, even thousands, of people working in a network of committees, with plenty of communication all along the line.

Then, I think, you can really dig in for once. It will be long and slow—and dangerous—but you could move in a way that will make a real difference.

Let's say we had such a set of state and local task forces in the social studies. What would they do? What would they think about? It wouldn't be their job to outline courses; they'd want to, right away, but we could fight that off. Their first job would be to look at our society—at their community, their nation, the world—and analyze its needs. Then slowly they could begin to say, "We need a social studies program that will achieve these and these purposes. Now you fellows in the schools whomp one up for us. Bring it back to us and we'll tell you whether you're on the right track."

You see, this assumes that a curriculum is there to *do something*—not just to lie there, smooth and polished and pretty. That's the road to the revolution we need, the only road that makes sense.

What would such a committee come up with? I don't know. I know what sort of thing *I* would come up with. If I were on the socio-civic area committee once more, I'd be saying things like these:

> Our society is in the middle of multiple crises, all of which have long roots, all of which are now rising steeply to such crescendo that our very survival is in doubt. We are all torn up, group against group, race against race; many of our most sensitive, ablest youth have found nothing to inspire their allegiance. Our marvelous technology has brought in train a series of consequences for which the smokestack-centered word *pollution* is pitifully inadequate. Our mercury won't stay buried. Our urban children are breathing lead at a rate dangerous to their brains. DDT and its cousins—the bright saviors of World War II days—have turned into menacing disasters. Our cities are rotting at the core. Transportation is automobilism gone insane. There is hunger in the midst of abundance, and even Republicans and Democrats both know that welfare is a horrible mess.
>
> Over it all hangs the boiling cloud of the nuclear bomb. But across the world, and perhaps even in our own land, hangs the far worse cloud of ungoverned population explosion. Growth, growth, growth! Technological growth; population growth. And the end, if the present curves are not turned down—and turned down in the next three or four decades—is sheer disaster.

Do I seem a Jeremiah? The Committee of Rome, perhaps the most expert scientific group that has yet looked at the problem whole, after whirling through its computers all the assumptions it could conceive of, summed up its conclusions in one terse sentence: "All growth projections end in collapse." Britain's *Ecologist* report, backed by Britain's

most distinguished scholars, said that unrestricted industrial and population expansion must lead to the "breakdown of society and of the life support systems on this planet—possibly by the end of this century and certainly within the lifetime of our children"

This is real, gentlemen. It is upon us now. It may not be hopeless; maybe it can still be solved—just possibly—but only by the devoted and intelligent social action of whole peoples. It will call for changes in fundamental habits in many of our social institutions, and in our very way of thinking. It will call for great courage and willingness to sacrifice selfish interest for the public good, immediate profit for long-range goals. In short, it demands revolutionary change.

Well, if I were a member of your social studies area committee, I'd be asking some pretty tough questions:

> What has your business-as-usual social studies program got to do with all this? How much are your formalistic civics programs teaching kids about being effective in concerted civic action—or even wanting to be? What does your thrice-repeated American history have to say? What do you really think of your dibs and dabs of "Problems of Democracy," and your occasional life-divorced studies of economics and sociology?

I should be demanding—not suggesting, but demanding—that the schools get with it. These times are too critical for a nice-Nelly, schoolmarmish droning-on about all the stereotyped topics. I would demand a social studies program that focused squarely on the major survival problems of our day. I would set as its central purpose *to equip each student as well as we can to play his part in solving those problems—and in taking our society to a new level.*

You do not need to tell me that this will take a whale of a lot of doing. The old gray charter members of the social studies club are deeply entrenched, not only among the teachers of history, civics, and so on, but also in the public mind. The new content will be controversial and dangerous. Beyond that, there are a host of technical questions about what really will equip our youngsters best. Will it require a new attention to group dynamics—sensitivity training, if you will? Will it require social-laboratory action in the community? What will be the best way to weave in history, geography, and so on? For certainly we don't want illiterates in such areas.

The answers will not be easy. Nevertheless, the fact remains a fact: The only way to develop a meaningful social

studies program is to get the most sensitive reading you can of our social needs, and then devise the most hopeful means you can to meet those needs. If we settle for less we are tinkerers. In my personal opinion, if we cannot generate a new level of civic dedication, insight, and effectiveness within the next twenty-five years, we are done for. This great nation can rise to new heights or plummet to disaster. What *we* do will make much of the difference. I cannot conceive of planning our social studies in lesser terms than that.

But I should like even more to be a member of your humanities area committee, because I see even deeper crisis within the individual than within the society; and the individual is what the humanities are about.

We properly spend a good bit of school time studying the Renaissance, with its profound and troubled shifts in man's whole way of seeing and thinking and valuing and believing. I believe we are today at another great swing point in man's history, a shift at least as fundamental as that of the Renaissance. Our post-industrial technology has brought vast changes in our way of life. Maybe we could manage the technology fairly well, swift as the changes are. But there are side effects that are much harder to accommodate.

Look at what is happening to the old work ethic, and what has happened to work itself in the great factories. What ever became of the old concept of an independent yeomanry? Look at what is happening to sex roles and the relations between the sexes. Look at what has been happening to religion. Look at what has happened to war, which, always brutal, at least once retained some vestiges of civilization. Look, perhaps above all, at what has happened to the conception of how man should relate to man, to the rage for justice, to the press for open communications and greater intimacy, for love.

I do not mean to say that this is all bad, or even mostly bad. That is not what I am saying at all; my estimate is that there is far more of good, that we may be almost at the verge of something transcendently new and fine.

But it is change—profound, pervasive, many-faceted change. And our youth are receipting for its stresses and strains. Look underneath the sometimes bizarre posturings, the gluttony for sensation, the apparent hedonism, and if my eyes do not deceive me, you are looking at a generation in distress; a generation torn by doubts, disgusted with dog-eat-dog materialism, imbued with a vague, idealistic vision of what our wealth ought to make possible, assailed by fears

of an ominous future, depressed by a feeling of helplessness, in a massive, impersonal, manipulated society, and yet sure they must and can take charge of it. They move from one fad to another, whether in drugs or sex or politics. They often look ridiculous. And yet, underneath it all, they are calling some shots that have long needed calling, they have nerve, and they are on a great quest for new values, a new sense of significance, a new conception of the good life and how to live it.

Well, whether we think them wise or stupid, hopeful or hopeless, brave or merely brash, we need not condemn them to work out this children's crusade by themselves. I am fed up with listening to faculties who deplore adolescents' "loss of values" and who then, when I raise the quiet question, "What are you doing about it?" answer me with a silence that is so loud it is obscene.

My god! What are we if we cannot work at questions of value? We have at our command all the great carriers of culture and civilization. In this day of easy reproduction we have all the world's art, including, emphatically, today's. And that includes the motion picture. We have all the world's music, in reproduction almost better than the original. We have the world's poetry, drama, and novel—all the world's literature, especially today's. We have the high philosophies and the high religions. Taken together, these are the great record of man's woes and aspirations. They are the tale of his inner struggles and his yearnings, his search for significance and his definitions of the life good to live. They are the sweat of the brows of the great intuitive geniuses, the giant intellects and the giant moral powers. They have never been far from the problems of the lonely human soul and the always unsatisfying social order. They are loaded with insight, and they wield enormous power. (If that seems overdrawn, consider what a handful of black novelists have done to the whole world view of their people in less than a quarter-century.)

Added to these, now, we have the new behavioral sciences, especially psychology and social anthropology. These give us new ways of studying man, analyzing his motivations, assessing his potential.

And with all these resources we foozle it away in the annual dusty trip through a survey of English literature and the annual parsing of MacBeth! In art we wear ourselves out with technicalities of line and form. And much of music is more technical than tin shop. It has taken today's adolescent to show us that you can *listen* to what music has to say. We

had forgotten that, in school. We had forgotten it when we taught our annual batch of literary classics; we attended to style and form and mechanics and lost the message. But we are learning; there are young literature teachers now who are taking their youngsters on great safaris into the fields of ideas.

And there are several thousand brave little teams of teachers who are trying to put these powerful media together into a unified humanities program: into a genuine *study of man*. I have no time to go into detail. Let me say simply that, if we do it seriously, this is the greatest curriculum movement of our time, infinitely more important than the new math and the revolution in science. It will take long, hard work. We are only at the beginning, but that also means we are free; no state courses of study yet, no College Boards. I believe that, with a wise fusion of the traditional media of the humanities (stressing the modern, but using the old where it fits) and then a further fusion with the behavioral sciences, we can join the great quest of our tortured, torn-up adolescents and help them immensely.

I do not mean that we can give them the answers they seek. We do not know those answers ourselves. What I mean is that the unified media of the humanities and the behavioral sciences give us organized ways of looking at the questions. The questions are age-old, even if their form is new. Sophocles heard them long ago on the Aegean. Socrates pondered them on the sea wall down at the Piraeus. The great Hebrews wrestled with them in a kind of agony. Jesus gave his life to them. The great Buddha. The gigantic Russian novelists. The French philosophers. Shakespeare. John Donne. Walt Whitman. Sigmund Freud. The list goes on and on. And it is by no means all old. For now we have Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow, with their powerful insights into human potential. We have our own powerful drama, sculpture, novels, motion pictures.

The resources are infinite. But they will not all speak directly to the heart of modern youth. We shall need the young people's help to find what does speak to each of them. Then we shall have to learn ways of teaching so different from the standard didactic method that we can scarcely imagine it yet. I can visualize a laboratory for the humanities with resources in every medium, designed to be used privately by individuals or small groups more often than by whole classes. It will be a homey, comfortable place, with leisure for much good talk. Its object will not be to "teach" literature

and art and the rest, but to *use* them for the help they can give young people.

I have said it badly. Time and space crowd in too harshly. But I wish to issue a call for the development of a unified humanities approach. I want the schools to give it at least one-fourth of their time. I hope it will have virtually no subject matter specifications in advance, or maybe ever. I hope that its primary—nay, its *sole*—purpose will be *to help each young person as much as we possibly can in his own personal becoming.*

Where that will take us in subject matter we cannot wholly foresee. And I do not really care. We have been hung up too long on seeing curriculum as content when we ought to be seeing it as purpose. But I have a deep confidence that we can help every young person understand and accept himself, and therefore also other people. I believe we can help him work through to his own private sense of fine ethics and of values to live by through thick and thin. I believe we can generate a fineness and at the same time an inner strength such as the world has rarely seen. And I believe we can help today's conflict-ridden youth win through to a new sense of the significance of their lives and bring them to peace with a new vision of what their lives can be.

I have not had time to deal with the other two great streams in the curriculum: the science-math technology stream and the stream of career education. That's all right, for the same processes would apply to their reform. We have looked at the two great imperatives: to go straight at the great survival problems of our society, and to go equally straight at releasing the potential of every young person. If we can do those two things, the rest is ancillary.

But we can do them only if we take two giant steps: First, we must look squarely and fearlessly into the face of the survival problems that hang over our society as well as the inner crisis in personal life. Then we shall be free to look forward to what can be done. Our best minds are only now beginning to sense the enormous potential which is inherent in every human being simply because he is a human being. We may be even further away from realizing the potentials of the great democratic society.

We are in crisis. The issue is in doubt. We may go on to a brilliant future, or we may break down. The difference may lie in what our schools do. A curriculum is not an inert body of knowledge. A curriculum is purpose mobilized into power.

Auditing and Monitoring Educational Programs

Robert E. Kraner
President, EPIC Diversified Systems Corporation
Tucson, Arizona

EPIC is an acronym for Evaluative Programs for Innovative Curriculums. EPIC began in 1966 as a federally funded ESEA Title III project designed to aid educators in developing evaluation systems within their instructional programs to provide systematic procedures for collecting and analyzing reliable and valid information for the purpose of decision making.

With the completion of federal funding in 1970, EPIC Diversified Systems Corporation was formed to continue the same services. As the concept of accountability gained prominence across the nation, these services were provided in forty-two states at all levels of education. Currently, EPIC maintains headquarters in Tucson, Arizona, and five regional offices in the states of New Jersey, Virginia, Georgia, Texas, and California. As one of our project participants summarized, "Instead of business going into education, you are educators who have gone into business."

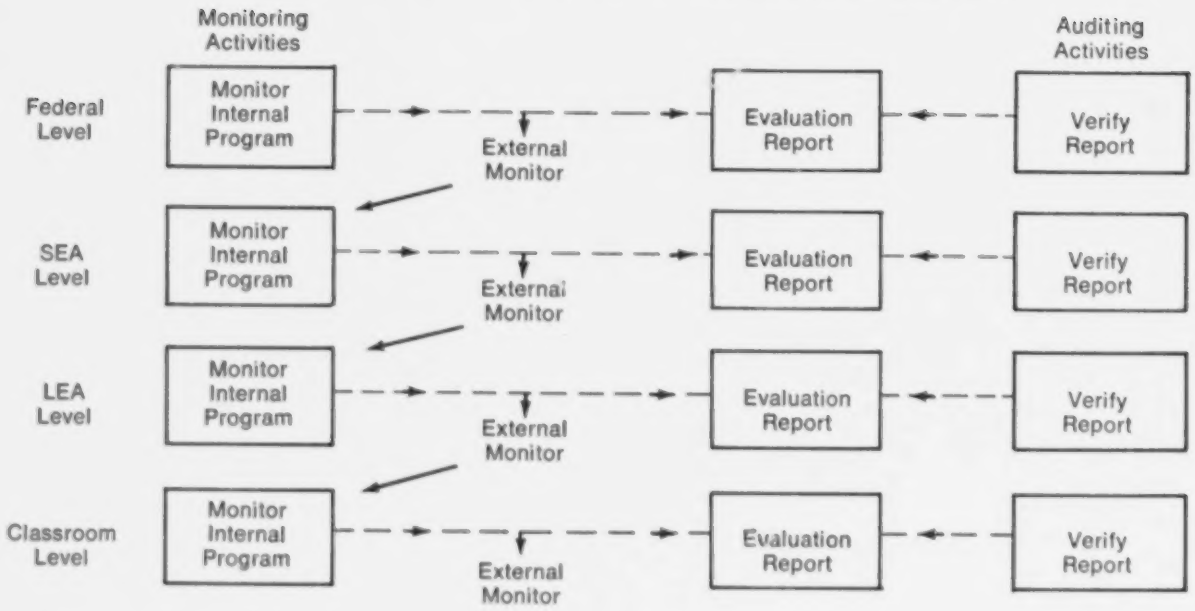
We find educators faced with undertaking the tremendous task of answering the call for accountability. "Accountability" poses two questions: (a) What is desired with respect to behavioral changes in children as a result of participating in an instructional program? and (b) How effective is the instructional program in bringing about these behavioral changes?

Basically, three tasks must be completed in order for accountability to occur:

1. Specification of the desired student performance
2. Establishment of procedures to monitor and audit the instructional program that will be implemented to bring about the expected student performance

FIGURE I

COMMON RELATIONSHIP OF AUDITING AND MONITORING



3. Publication of a report relating student performance to the implemented instructional program.

It is the second step that we will now consider—auditing and monitoring educational programs. Although there are similar activities and functions in both auditing and monitoring, they are distinctly different in overall purpose.

The educational program audit is a standard, external, third-party review by a qualified source, designed to provide verified information to the local education agency. The general purpose of the audit is to verify the reported results of the project evaluation of the educational program and to assess the appropriateness of the evaluation techniques.

Monitoring is an internal process and involves the collection of information by persons directly connected with the identified program/project to determine the degree to which planned program procedures are actually being implemented. Monitoring can take on many forms, from a periodic check of a calendar of events listing activities, person(s) responsible, and expected completion dates to a very detailed systematic check of an instructional program.

A further distinction between the two activities can be made by considering levels in the educational enterprise, as seen in Figure I. Monitoring activities may be both internal and external at a specified level. Each level is required to monitor its own activities (internal) and to monitor the activities of other levels when responsibilities exist (external). In both instances, the monitoring activities are related to comprehensive evaluation. The audit activities are designed to verify those reports resulting from the monitoring activities.

The Educational Program Audit

In 1969, EPIC was approved by the U.S. Office of Education to serve as the educational program auditor for the first performance contract in the United States—the Texarkana Dropout Prevention Program.

EPIC has conducted educational program audits for projects under ESEA Titles I, III, VII, and VIII and has participated in efforts designed to improve this emerging concept in education.

In a brief overview of educational program auditing activities and the role of the auditor, there are usually three important stages to consider:

1. Preliminary arrangements
2. Pre-audit activities
3. Audit activities.

Preliminary Arrangements

Preliminary arrangements primarily involve the selection of a qualified auditor by the project, with approval from the U.S. Office of Education. This is usually accomplished soon after a preliminary proposal is selected for further development. Several agencies are contacted, with one being selected. U.S. Office of Education criteria for consideration are:

1. Independence of operation
2. Qualifications and record of acceptable performance
3. Accessibility to project site
4. Organizational capabilities
5. Office of Education approval
6. Attendance at U.S. Office of Education training institutes.

The primary function of the auditor is to verify the results of the project evaluation and assess the appropriateness of the evaluation procedures. Once the auditor has been selected, pre-audit activities begin.

Pre-Audit Activities

These activities consist of familiarization with appropriate project and U.S. Office of Education documents, an on-site project visit, and a critical analysis of the project evaluation design. The written products of these activities are:

1. A critique of the proposed evaluation design with recommendations for revisions
2. A proposed audit plan
3. The audit contract.

Pre-Audit Critique. The critique focuses primarily on the evaluation design and is the first step in the preparation of the audit plan. The critique should include:

1. Performance objectives, product, and process for each component (see Section III of the ESEA Title VII Manual for Project Applicants and Grantees)
2. Measurement of objectives
3. Sampling, data collection, and analysis procedures
4. Project management activities (scheduling).

Audit Plan. The audit plan is the sampling procedures to be used by the auditor for verifying the accuracy and validity of the data analyzed by the project evaluator. The auditor will select a sample number of objectives and duplicate the analyses used by the evaluator to verify accuracy.

Audit Contract. Essential elements of the audit contract are:

1. Statement of the purpose of the audit
2. Names and résumés of audit personnel
3. Specifications of documents and facilities to be provided by the local educational agency
4. Scheduling specifications (approximate dates)
5. Audit plan (sampling techniques and procedures)
6. Specification of audit reports
7. Special assurances (confidentiality, school records, etc.)
8. Audit budget and payment schedule
8. Penalty and incentive clauses (optional)
10. General adequacy checks.

Audit Activities

During project operation, the primary activities are conducting on-site visitations and preparing the interim and final audit reports.

On-Site Visit Activities

1. Verify evaluation procedures and data collection
2. Observe testing
3. Interview students, teachers, and parents
4. Spot-check materials and classes
5. Note discrepancies
6. Offer suggestions.

Audit Reports

1. Preparation of an interim audit report resulting from on-site visits or review of the evaluator's interim evaluation report
2. Preparation of a final audit report. This is the audit of the final evaluation report.

Written audit reports should include a discussion of:

a. General comments of the quality of project evaluation
b. A detailed critique of the product, process, and management evaluation for each component
c. On-site visits and findings

d. Recommendations for revisions in evaluation design
e. Confirmation or questioning of program modification.

Monitoring

Monitoring activities are primarily intended to review actual program activity as compared to the planned program activity.

The basic question is what to monitor in an actual program. This question can best be answered by going to the building blocks of any educational program striving for accountability—performance and process objectives. If educators desire to incorporate the concept of accountability, they should complete (a) performance objectives (the learning expected to occur), and (b) process objectives (specific activities of the educational program).

Elements of a Performance Objective

Although there are many approaches available for the purpose of developing and writing performance objectives, in general, most approaches tend to focus on (a) methods for specifying a desired behavioral change on the part of the learner, and (b) how the change will be measured.

A system for developing and writing performance objectives at all educational levels will involve answering six quetions:

1. Who is going to perform the specified behavior?
2. What behavior is expected to occur?
3. What instructional variable will be related to the behavior to be observed?
4. How is the behavior going to be measured?
5. What amount of time or prerequisite is necessary to bring about the desired behavior?
6. What is the expected proficiency level?

Elements of a Process Objective

A process objective, if properly stated, should contain four essential elements:

1. Person(s) responsible
2. Activity

3. Time factor
4. Documentation.

Activities are planned and implemented at all levels of the educational structure, with the intent of increasing the probability of learners at the classroom level attaining given performance objectives. The procedure to define such activities is the process objective.

Three types of process objectives may be identified. They are:

1. Administrative process objectives
2. Support process objectives
3. Instructional process objectives.

Although the elements to be used in writing each type of process objective are identical, the intent and purpose of each type are much different. The emphasis placed on a given type of process objective will be determined to a large degree by the individual's (or group's) position in the educational structure and his (or their) role definition. All three types of process objectives will be relevant to all educators, regardless of their position in the educational structure. However, the emphasis placed on one type versus the other two will be determined not only by their job description but, most important, by their relationship to the learner.

When an educational program has been thus defined—performance and process objectives—the monitoring activities focus upon them in the stages of planning, implementing, and reporting. Personnel involved in the monitoring activities now have specific guidelines and expectancies of the others' role and responsibilities. Monitoring becomes a meaningful activity for program modification and development.

Implications for Education

When considering the implications for education as the result of the emphasis on auditing and monitoring, a major shift of emphasis from process to performance is evident.

Traditionally, educational auditing and monitoring have focused upon the educational processes (input). Most controlling influences have also centered in this area. However, as the controlling influences move more toward educational performance (output), responsibility for the selecting of processes will of necessity be given more and more to that person directly responsible.

For example, a farmer can be held accountable for his yield per acre only if he has the control of type of seed, cultivation techniques, type of fertilizer, and so on. Similarly, an educator can be held accountable for student learning only if he has control of the instructional variables. This shift of emphasis should serve to raise the professional status of every educator and will again direct our attention to what education is all about—student learning.

Urban Pressures on the State Education Agency

Ercell I. Watson
Superintendent of Schools
Trenton, New Jersey

The interesting oriental culture of Japan, I am told, still has vestiges of the ancient warrior aristocracy, the Samurai. Membership in this honored clan was based for centuries upon one's superior skill with the sword. Many of the most sought-after benefits of that society accrued to the most skillful.

One of the leaders of this clan spoke one day to his daughter: "My child, you are young and beautiful, and I believe it is time for you to be married. Your father wishes you to marry the greatest Samurai in all the land." "Yes, my father," the young maiden responded, "whatever you wish."

An extensive contest was waged. Three candidates for the young lady's hand finally emerged. The first warrior presented himself, so tall that he was forced to stoop to enter the demonstration chamber. After the ceremonial bows, he was ordered to proceed. He opened a pouch under his arm and released a fly. With two quick strokes of his huge sword, he severed both wings and the fly dropped to the floor.

"Very good," the venerable leader exclaimed. "Next!" In waddled a stocky, well-muscled warrior. He opened his pouch; a fly emerged. With one deft stroke of his blade he severed his victim in half. It dropped dead to the floor.

"Excellent," the venerable leader exclaimed. "Next!" The last contestant to enter was one of the scrawniest specimens the leader had ever seen. "You, a Samurai? You want my daughter's hand in marriage? There must be some mistake."

"No mistake, noble leader. May I proceed?"

At the hesitant nod of the leader, the little warrior opened his pouch and released a very small fly. With lightning speed, the huge sword split the air. The fly faltered and fluttered for a moment and then continued its flight.

"You call that skill?" the leader exclaimed. "That fly is still alive and flying."

The little warrior raised himself to his full five feet and with a smile on his face answered, "He may still fly, my lord, but I'll bet you he'll never make love again."

Accurate assessments are not always easy to come by. In dealing with the theme, "Urban Pressures on the State Education Agency," I am not at all certain whether I am addressing urban needs, urban desires, or actual urban pressures. I readily admit to a probable combination of all three.

Comments will be based upon experience in two suburban school districts, a two-year stint in a state education agency, three years on the staff of an urban university, and four years as an urban superintendent. Information also was gleaned from the results of a hastily constructed questionnaire, which was circulated to each of you and to eighty urban school superintendents (see pp. 150-53). A modicum of research also yielded insights.

Urban School/State Education Agency Relationships

Campbell and Wagstaff [1] have noted that the relationships between urban school districts and state education agencies have seldom been cordial, extensive, or productive. For many years cities were front-runners in education. The tax base, the educational leadership, the extensive and innovative programs, the facilities—all were present to make the cities the envy of suburban and rural districts.

State education agencies during the same period were rural in orientation, concerned chiefly with minimum standards, maintenance, and regulatory functions. The disdain of state departments, common to personnel in city school districts, was further exacerbated when SEA staffs with rural orientation attempted to advise sophisticated staffs in the cities.

In recent decades the drastic change in the condition of the urban school districts is so well documented that little

[1] Campbell, Roald F., and Wagstaff, Lonnie H. "Political and Organizational Dynamics in Urban-State Relations," *Revitalizing Education in the Big Cities*. Denver: Improving State Leadership in Education, 1972. pp. 47-70.

is needed in the way of elaboration. With the shift in populations, the tax base, the educational leadership, the extensive and innovative programs, and the facilities are now centered mainly in suburbia. City school districts are currently plagued with a plethora of critical ailments: bankruptcy or near bankruptcy; shortened school terms; enforced staff layoffs; antiquated facilities; protracted labor negotiations; student, staff, and community unrest.

The great inflexibility of many city school districts has motivated much of the emphasis on decentralization. Concerns for the growing numbers of minority pupils and quality education make desegregation and integration viable issues.

The extent to which the above conditions evidence a change in the attitudes of urban school districts toward the SEA is still a matter of question. To some observers the interest continues to be fiscally motivated. The extent to which SEA's have changed their attitudes and orientation also is open to question.

Iannaccone,[2] in his examination of urban-state relationships, offers three postulates: First, urban districts must initiate action if a change in the relationship is to result. Second, any initiative (pressure) on the part of urban districts usually results in a political issue. Third, the educational initiative taken by the city school districts in order to be successful requires a high degree of unity among all forces in the city.

Needed Change in Leadership Role of SEA

In times of swift economic, social, and cultural changes, institutions must address these changes and must redefine their roles. State education agencies are no exception. Whether or not the federal horn of plenty empties more copiously in the state lap, whether or not Washington reorders its priorities to solve urban problems, whether or not the Office of Education restructures to deliver more effectively an urban thrust, state education agencies still must assume new leadership responsibilities. The prime responsibility for public education now rests, and most likely for many years will continue to rest, with the state education agency. Hansen and Jesser speak to the point:

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[2] Iannacone, Lawrence. "Norms Governing Urban-State Politics of Education." (Edited by Frank W. Lutz.) *Toward Improved Urban Education.* Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1970.

> If the state education agency is to assume a bona fide leadership role in education, it must move away from the historic organizational and operational concerns—checking on compliance and doling out both money and advice—to a new leadership and service activities that are less bureaucratic, less regulatory, less bound by tradition and structures, and more concerned with planning, development, and change.[3]

This is an important need felt by urban school districts. I would hope that SEA's are feeling the actual pressure.

Commitment of Chief State School Officer

The changing role of the SEA usually emanates from the degree to which the chief state school officer understands the criticality of the urban scene and enunciates and demonstrates his personal and professional commitment to its solutions. Strong commitment and high urban priority on the part of CSSO's go hand in hand.

Urban school districts in New Jersey are most fortunate in having this understanding, commitment, and high urban priority demonstrated repeatedly by their chief state school officer. From the outset—his first major speech five years ago—the commissioner has moved expeditiously to address urban concerns.

The low profile of many chief state school officers of yesteryear has no legitimacy whatsoever in today's educational scene. CSSO's can and must assume gianthood. The opportunities to assume dynamic leadership are legion. Beachheads in urban districts can be established by courageous CSSO's now better than in any other time in recent years. We need you! You may be our only salvation! And our salvation becomes your salvation!

Urban/State Survey

Marshalling Fiscal Resources

Our July survey[4] indicated that of the responding thirty-six CSSO's with urban school districts, thirty indicated

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[3] Hansen, Kenneth H., and Jesser, David L. "Society, Education and State Education Agencies: Implications of Societal Changes." *Emerging State Responsibilities for Education.* (Edited by Edgar L. Morphet, David L. Jesser, and Arthur P. Ludke.) Denver: Improving State Leadership in Education, 1970.

[4] Watson, Ercell L., and Weischadle, David. Survey of chief state school officers and urban school superintendents to determine kinds of urban pressures placed upon state education agencies, Trenton, N.J., July 1972.

high frequency and five medium frequency of urban requests for "additional state funding." No responding CSSO indicated a low frequency.

Eighty urban superintendents were surveyed in terms of their requests of their SEA. Fifty-nine, or 74 percent, responded. Forty-seven indicated high frequency and seven indicated medium frequency of their requests of SEA's for additional state funding. Only five of fifty-nine urban superintendents indicated a low frequency.

These statistics reaffirm what we currently know: urban districts are pressuring SEA's and SEA's are feeling the pressure for additional state funding.

The survey also indicated that of the fifteen categories of requests (additional state funding, staff recruitment, programs for the disadvantaged, equality of educational opportunity, educational planning, facility planning, vocational and career education, technical assistance, student relations and involvement, community involvement, decentralization, special services, curriculum reform, desegregation, and quality education (accountability), both CSSO's and urban superintendents gave first rank to pressure for additional state funding.

The state of New Jersey, with a long history of niggardliness to education at all levels, last year revised upward its basic state-aid formula. It had hoped to increase over a five-year period its state share of educational costs from 26 to 40 percent. A courageous governor placing his political life on the line recently fought and lost a battle for comprehensive tax reform. He blamed legislators representing the cities for the bill's defeat. Without question, urban school districts would have profited most. Iannaccone's thesis that the cities must "put it all together" if such pressures are to be successful may have been valid.

Urban school districts/state education agency cooperation led to passage three or four years ago of the emergency building-aid program in New Jersey. Old cities benefitted most. As a result, Trenton has under construction four elementary open-space facilities for 2,100 children.

The July survey also indicated that SEA's were utilizing concentrated categorical federal aid more than any other method to meet the demands of urban school districts. Four years ago, a Title III grant established in New Jersey the Urban Schools Development Council through which the ten largest cities worked to meet their special needs.

Restructuring SEA Organization

Both the Urban Education Task Force report and the 1971 Improving State Leadership in Education project advocated a restructuring of the state education agency in order to more effectively address urban concerns. Both reports suggested an office of urban education which might concentrate competent staff and coordinate efforts in the solution of educational problems in the center cities. Our survey indicates that, of those responding, only eight SEA's have moved significantly to establish such a branch. It may be noteworthy that eight others use urban specialists throughout their organizations.

New Jersey's commissioner, after a successful three-year operation of the Urban Schools Development Council, elected to establish an office of urban education serving more than thirty urban school districts. Programs include Title I ESEA, Urban Education Corps, Spanish-Speaking Affairs (Title VII ESEA), Model Cities Technical Assistance Project, evaluation and research coordination, dissemination and program development, Title VIII ESEA, and other curriculum projects. Urban superintendents are continuing to feel the growing impact of this office.

Marshalling Human Resources in the SEA

The success of any office of urban education will depend upon the quality of its staff. Specialists must bring to their responsibilities a sensitivity to urban concerns and a successful urban experience. It should be noted that there has been some increase in the number of chief state school officers and department staff members who have had administrative or other related experience in urban situations. Urban districts that have pressured for these developments should take courage and renew their efforts.

Educational Planning

Requests emanating from urban school districts for state assistance in educational planning were reported in our study to be of medium frequency. Chief state school officers concurred. Less than one-third of the urban superintendents responding indicated that they had been substantially assisted in local planning or influenced by statewide planning.

Perhaps the extreme urgency of local problems has forced the attention of urban centers and state agencies as

well on the current scene, thus making it difficult for them to become involved in comprehensive long-range planning. This may be an explanation of the absence of more SEA and urban district planning, but it certainly is no justification for it.

Program Development

"Programs for the disadvantaged" was reported by responding urban superintendents and chief state school officers alike to be a pressure exerted and felt in high frequency, second only to additional state funding. Only five of fifty-nine responding urban superintendents reported a low frequency. Only one of thirty-six responding CSSO's reported a low frequency. When coupled with the category "curriculum reform," this pressure ranked significantly high.

Vocational (Career) Education

"Vocational and/or career education" was reported by responding urban superintendents and chief state school officers alike to be the pressure of third highest frequency. This high ranking may stem at least partially from the federal thrust recently in this area of endeavor. It (the program) also has particular relevance to the needs of urban youth.

Equality of Educational Opportunity

"Equality of educational opportunity" appeared on both score cards as the fourth-ranking pressure in terms of frequency. The category, because of its generality, makes any analysis highly subjective. However, only the fainthearted superintendent shies away from subjectivity.

Urban superintendents are facing with each passing year growing percentages of children from poor families, minority groups, and culturally different populations. Dozens of innovative programs have been launched, instructional materials developed, and teachers trained in promising techniques with little significant breakthrough in increased pupil learning.

We have pointed to obstacles by the dozen that preclude the achievement of our objectives: class sizes, discipline problems, cultural conflict, to name a few. The classic culprit, according to national, state, and local thinking, is the child—the child of poverty, the child with minority-group status. The major thrust of compensatory education is based upon the assumption that something is wrong with the child. It is now

fashionable in America to raise doubts publicly about the inherent equality of children. We have entered the Moynihan-Jensen era, an era that symbolizes the belief that the inability of black children to learn is a function either of their family life-style or the quality of their genetic concentrations. In a white racist society that has been able to achieve its present level of technological excellence in part by oppressing and exploiting designated inferior races, the Moynihan-Jensen era is a welcomed relief from its own dysfunctional behavior.

History has taught us that the oppressor never indicts himself, nor intentionally surrenders power, nor willingly assists in the destruction of his system. Consequently, an America seeking to maintain the plantation status quo more eagerly embraces the postulates of a Jensen than those of his equally authoritative critics.

Thus, cognitive failures among blacks are not attributed to pedagogical incompetence but to chromosomal aberrations. And most of our educational innovations on behalf of minority groups subliminally encompass this ideal.

Let me suggest several alternatives. First, state and higher education agencies, along with urban district personnel, together must reexamine and redirect the recruitment, preparation, and continuing development of instructional staff.

Second, we have developed the psychometrics of IQ testing but have almost completely ignored the sociometrics of "BQ" testing. A high Bigotry Quotient would indicate social maladjustment and would require special remedial training until the BQ was lowered to an acceptable level to sustain effective interpersonal relationships.

Third, we must step up our efforts to find other types to enter teacher preparation programs. Young people with roots in the cities, with commitments to their counterparts, with potential for quality service should be recruited. Of utmost importance is adequate funding for full or partial scholarships.

Fourth, more courses from freshman to senior levels in teacher preparation institutions should provide developmental experiences in the urban school and community.

Fifth, teacher certification based on credit-counting should be supplemented by performance-based criteria.

Sixth, perhaps the employing urban district should be the key agency in approving certification.

Growing numbers of urban superintendents recognize that a commitment to equality of educational opportunity mandates institutional changes not only in materials and equipment, but also in people.

State educational agency personnel with keen sensitivity and perception will "read through" terminology such as *equality of educational opportunity*, *accountability*, *community involvement*, and the like, to focus programs more sharply upon the real issues.

Desegregation

In our study, approximately one-half of the responding chief state school officers and one-third of the responding urban school superintendents reported a medium frequency in pressures for "desegregation." Only three of fifty-nine urban superintendents reported a high frequency, while only five of thirty-five chief state school officers so reported.

Chuck Stone,[5] formerly of Educational Testing Service, Princeton, writes facetiously (I hope) that this is a society which will be described by historians as one neurotically obsessed with school buses. Classes in the history of abnormal psychology will one day read about the parents in Lamar, South Carolina, who attacked school buses in 1969; the parents in Trenton, New Jersey, who refused to let school buses discharge their passengers in front of a school in 1970; and the parents in Pontiac, Michigan, who achieved the highest level of efficiency by simply blowing up their buses in 1971. Twenty years from now, one sage comments, courses in teacher education curriculum will include "The School Bus as an Exercise in Aberrant Behavior" and "Neuro-Humoral Factors in the Conflict Between Parents and Buses."

In summary, from our superficial and unsophisticated survey, responding chief state school officers and urban superintendents agreed that the highest frequency of pressures centered on (1) additional state funding, (2) programs for disadvantaged, (3) vocational (career) education, (4) equality of educational opportunity, and (5) special services (e.g., drug education). Very little pressure was reported for such items as community involvement, decentralization, and staff recruitment.

The sooner both groups recognize that common concerns are being addressed, cooperative efforts to effect viable solutions can be mounted.

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[5] Stone, Chuck. "The Missing Element in American Education: The Fourth R." Speech delivered in Trenton, N.J., September 1971.

SUMMARY SHEET

SURVEY OF URBAN SCHOOL DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENTS

URBAN ISSUES

Forms Sent—80

Forms Returned—59

Percent—74

I. Local urban school districts are constantly calling upon the state education agency (SEA) for services, assistance, and special programs. Listed below are some general categories which would be applicable to your requests. Please identify the frequency levels of each request by circling *H* (high frequency), *M* (medium frequency), or *L* (low frequency).

H	M	L			H	M	L			H	M	L
47	7	5	—Additional State Funding	H M L	—Student Relations & Involvements	H M L	2	10	47
0	4	52	—Staff Recruitment	H M L	—Community Involvement	H M L	5	12	40
36	16	5	—Programs for Disadvantaged	H M L	—Decentralization	H M L	0	7	51
20	21	12	—Equality of Educational Opportunity	H M L	—Special Services (e.g., Drug Education)	H M L	8	32	16
8	23	22	—Educational Planning	H M L	—Curriculum Reform	H M L	9	27	21
7	11	38	—Facility Planning	H M L	—Desegregation	H M L	3	18	35
30	21	7	—Vocational (Career) Education	H M L	—Quality of Education (Accountability)	H M L	8	26	23
4	24	27	—Technical Assistance (general)	H M L	—Other (specify) _____	H M L	4	1	0
3	2	1	—Other (specify) _____	H M L					

II. From the above listing, please identify the top three (3) in order of priority for your district.

1. Additional State Funding
2. Programs for Disadvantaged
3. Vocational (Career) Education

III. Please identify (X) from the listings below the methods by which the state has aided your local district in meeting its needs.

- 44 Concentrated categorical federal aid (e.g., Titles I, III, VII)
- 2 Urban specialists throughout SEA
- 3 Single branch devoted to urban problems (e.g., an Office of Urban Education)
- 12 Special assistance agencies (e.g., intermediate units)
- — Other (specify) _____
- — Other (specify) _____
- 12 Special state funding formula for cities
- 29 Special legislative enactments
- 20 Accreditation adaptions
- 17 Statewide educational planning
- 25 Special in-service programs (e.g., drug education)

IV. Of the above, what has been the most effective?

1—Categorical federal aid; 2—Special legislative enactments; 3—Special in-service programs.

V. Do you anticipate requesting any additional assistance in meeting the needs of your local urban district?

1—Work for more funds; 2—Educational planning.

VI. General comments: _____

_____

Please return to: Dr. Ercell I. Watson
Superintendent of Schools
Board of Education
9 S. Stockton Street
Trenton, New Jersey 08611

Please send me a copy of the results . . .
29 Yes 13 No 17 No response

SUMMARY SHEET

SURVEY OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS

URBAN ISSUES

Forms sent—56

Forms returned—44

Percent—79

Reported no urban districts—8

I. Urban school districts (city pop. c. 80,000+) are constantly calling upon the state education agency (SEA) for services, assistance, and special programs. Listed below are some general categories applicable to these local requests. Please identify the frequency levels of each request by circling *H* (high frequency), *M* (medium frequency), or *L* (low frequency)

H	M	L					H	M	L
30	5	0	—Additional State Funding	H M L	—Student Relations & Involvements	H M L	2	9	24
2	5	28	—Staff Recruitment	H M L	—Community Involvement	H M L	1	13	21
24	11	1	—Programs for Disadvantaged	H M L	—Decentralization	H M L	1	7	27
15	14	6	—Equality of Educational Opportunity	H M L	—Special Services (e.g., Drug Education)	H M L	12	23	1
1	20	15	—Educational Planning	H M L	—Curriculum Reform	H M L	3	23	10
3	10	21	—Facility Planning	H M L	—Desegregation	H M L	5	17	13
23	10	3	—Vocational (Career) Education	H M L	—Quality of Education (Accountability)	H M L	5	18	10
5	18	12	—Technical Assistance (general)	H M L	—Other (specify) _____	H M L			
3	0	0	—Other (specify) _____	H M L					

II. From the above listing, please identify the top three (3) in priority order:

1. Additional State Funding
2. Programs for Disadvantaged
3. Vocational (Career) Education

III. Please identify (X) from the listing below the techniques your SEA has adopted to meet the demands of your state's urban districts:

25 Concentrated categorical federal aid (e.g., Titles I, III, VII)
8 Urban specialists throughout SEA
8 Single branch devoted to urban problems (e.g., an Office of Urban Education)
5 Special assistance agencies (e.g., intermediate units)
— Other (specify) _____
— Other (specify) _____

10 Special state funding formula for cities
13 Special legislative enactments
7 Accreditation adaptions
23 Statewide educational planning
21 Special in-service programs (e.g., drug education)

IV. Of the above, what has been the most effective?

1—Concentrated categorical federal aid; 2—Statewide educational planning; 3—Special in-service programs.

V. Do you anticipate making any additional efforts to meet the demands of your urban districts?

1—Renew efforts to seek additional funds from legislature; 2—Systems approach to planning.

VI. General comments: _____

_____

Please return to: Dr. Ercell I. Watson
Superintendent of Schools
Board of Education
9 S. Stockton Street
Trenton, New Jersey 08611

Please send me a copy of the results . . .
27 Yes 3 No 6 No response

Assessment Programs: Data for Decision Making

George B. Brain
Dean, College of Education
Washington State University, Pullman

A number of recurring themes and specific proposals in preceding sections of this Institute have underscored the need for more systematic decision making about the allocation of educational resources. Hard questions must be asked about how well we have been doing, where we are going, and where we ought to go. The answers to these questions will help us overcome the extensive irrationality, exaggerated subjectivity, and excessive conservatism that now characterize most debates and decisions about public education.

Decision making in education, like that in any other enterprise, is difficult to define with a high degree of precision. Agreement on an acceptable approach to decision making can rarely be found, particularly among those who have given the most thought to it. In the minds of some, the concept of educational decision making has strong economic overtones. For others it holds a much broader definition that considers the relative merits of both quality and efficiency. For those who accept the quality and efficiency theme there is a commitment to the process of identifying, defining, and refining objectives; of devising alternative programs for achieving the selected objectives; of evaluating alternatives; of monitoring the operation of programs that have been implemented; and of developing new directions or programs in light of the previous experience or emerging conditions.

The general objective of educational decision making should be to make schooling more responsive to individual and societal needs now and in the future. Although this restatement of the principle of adaptability may serve to give some orientation to the scope of operating a state school system, it does not give an adequate indication of the varied processes and

structures required to carry it out. In order to develop an understanding of these factors, it is necessary to identify some of the more specific objectives of decision making.

Operational theory and practice have undergone major changes in the past decade. Historically, different objectives in educational decision making emerged to direct the orderly growth and development of an educational system, to relate educational expansion to economic development, to relate educational development to social objectives, to achieve efficiency in the operation of the educational system, and to develop qualitative improvements in education. Obviously these objectives are not mutually exclusive, and no operational efforts have stressed one to the complete neglect of the other.

Certainly the dominant force in the history of educational decision making has been the economic one. When educational decision making is viewed from an economic perspective, two objectives are generally stressed. The first emphasizes schooling as an investment in human resources. The second underlines the need to manage scare resources effectively. These objectives for educational decision making remain pertinent throughout the United States. But social objectives must also be given a high order of consideration in the educational decision making process. In my own view, social objectives must rank equal with, if not higher than, the economic objectives involved in educational decision making. Explicit recognition of both social and economic needs will lead to a broader concept of the functions of schooling.

In the past, the social objective toward which educational decision making has been principally directed is that of equality of educational opportunity. Although there is little disagreement about the merits of this objective, it has proved to be difficult to define and attain. In spite of efforts within our various states to equalize educational opportunity by stressing equal resource allocation, major differences continue in enrollment rates and achievement levels for different social and economic groups. Results of this nature occur because the allocation of similar educational resources among our institutions for schooling is not an adequate response to the social and economic inequalities that exist within our society. Resources ought to be distributed according to both social and educational needs. The consequence of this approach would be the unequal treatment of learners in order that equality of opportunity might prevail. Action in accord with this principle of equity would help eliminate those undesirable educational disparities and inequities that exist among various

cultural minorities, between rural and urban settings; and within urban areas, between the inner city and suburbia. These disparities will prove to be tenacious and will be overcome only by careful decision making. Attention then must be given to devising measurements or indicators of the extent to which desired social changes are occurring. In order to work toward equality of opportunity, for example, educational leaders must have information on participation and achievement rates by different groups, followed by an analysis of factors both controllable and uncontrollable that would seem to explain the differences. Targets must be set for the reduction and ultimate eradication of inequalities and suitable policy instruments designed to attain them.

A fourth objective which must be confronted by educational decision makers is that of increasing the efficiency of schooling. Efficiency as an objective in educational decision making has assumed dominance for a number of reasons, particularly because of escalating costs and competition from other social services. Increases in the output or productivity of the schools are far less visible than are the increases in input. There seems to be a general suspicion that the increases in output, both visible and not so visible, have been disproportionately small. This accounts for the fact that people consistently are asking chief state school officers such questions as these: Are students really learning? Is the content of what they are learning significant in today's fast-changing world? Do teachers and administrators really care what happens to their students?

This general uneasiness and uncertainty about educational accomplishments has led to a change in funding philosophy. In times past, attempts to improve schooling took the form of increasing the resource allocations. Now the emphasis has shifted to making better use of available resources—the principle of efficiency.

Achieving efficient operation requires scrupulous monitoring of each stage of the decision-making process, from setting goals to evaluating results. Clarifying goals should also lead to setting priorities among goals. Action on some programs may have to be deferred until additional resources are available. Special attention must be given to costing in the design and evaluation of programs. Although cost need not be the dominant variable in choosing among alternatives, it dare not be ignored. Program budgets provide a ready means for linking costs more visibly to different programs and objectives.

Decision making in accordance with the principle of efficiency involves the application of sophisticated management techniques to educational administration. The application of such techniques is appropriate in all levels of governance, but eminently so close to the learning transaction. Consequently, chief state school officers and local school administrators must become quite familiar with the application of the analytical techniques that are a part of the assessment process.

No doubt it will be possible to increase efficiency through improved management and coordination. However, there is slight prospect for achieving major economies by these means alone. The improved use of resources can occur only through the development of alternatives that penetrate the shield of myths and prejudices that make education impermeable to change and refractory to reform.

Every decision maker dreams of the day when he will be able to lay out all alternatives before action, to carry out a complete analysis of the consequences of choosing the various alternatives, and then to select the best alternative before taking any action. Like most dreams, this one dissolves when exposed to the light of day. The extent to which the decision-making process can be so rationalized is still limited. A high degree of uncertainty still attaches to various outcomes, and the selection of an alternative may be only a "best guess" based upon highly subjective judgments. Even though the decision maker may not be able to evaluate his alternatives completely in advance, he can still take action and evaluate the alternative he has selected after it has been implemented.

Substantial progress has been made in recent years in conceptual and technical approaches to the evaluation of educational programs. Of particular interest are those that are well suited to management decisions. These approaches emphasize the evaluation at all stages of the decision-making process: assessment and evaluation of the situation, of inputs, of the process of implementation, and of final outcomes.

The evaluation process requires that standards and criteria for determining worth be established at all stages of the activity. These broadened concepts of evaluation should become an integral part of the analysis required in all educational decision making and dominate the administrative style of state departments of education.

The need is to reestablish credibility of educational leadership. And basic to this purpose is the "public's right to know." Effective monitoring and evaluation of programs is contingent upon two factors: the availability of information

about the educational enterprise, and the method of distributing the information. There is a self-evident need to improve both. Much of the data that are presently being collected and stored are of limited value for decision-making purposes. While this information does serve control purposes and provide a historical record of operations, it is seldom translated or synthesized into forms that enable decision makers to identify trends, danger signals, or progress toward objectives. To remedy this situation at least three concurrent steps are required.

One is to develop a classification scheme that is complementary within all phases of recurrent education and to other public services within the state.

A second is to thoroughly examine and screen the data now being collected throughout the state's educational enterprise.

The third is to identify the kinds of additional information that will be required for more effective decision making in the future.

Taking these three steps should enable chief state school officers to effect some economies in data collection, to fill gaps in the information base, and to better compare competing programs or alternatives.

Chief state school officers can no longer get by on hunch or revelation. The decisions to be made about education in the next decade are too momentous. Consequently, first priority at the state level should be given to the creation of a more adequate information base.

Direction to the acquisition of additional information can be given by focusing on the development and validation of indicators of performance or goal attainment. This involves an attempt to present educational statistics meaningfully, to isolate the impact of schooling on different personal and social activities, and to assess the contribution of education to an improved quality of life. Information and indicators are of limited value unless there exists a systematic means for making that information available at the right place at the right time. Therefore, attention must be given to the development of procedures for regulating information flows throughout the educational system. In the design of information systems and data banks, it must be reemphasized that educational decision makers will need to have access to data other than those encompassed by traditional educational statistics. Determining these data requirements and the development of effective transmission systems must be considered high-priority endeavors

in the preparation for improving educational decision-making practices.

If assessment data are to be utilized effectively for decision-making purposes, then objectives must be established that can be measured—not by comparing one learner against another, but by comparing each learner against his chosen or imposed objective. Fortunately, more teachers are beginning to use such objectives as the basis for assessment. In certain subjects where their application is more obvious, performance objectives have been used successfully down through the years. The objective of first-year typing can be stated as forty words a minute with two errors, and everyone knows exactly what that means; but very few school systems are using the same technique with, say, history or English.

Many will say that specific behavioral objectives cannot be set for subjects such as history or English. The objective of such courses, assert their teachers, is to understand; but if music or typing can establish specific performance objectives, why not history? Recent developments in evaluation suggest that specific behavioral objectives can be developed for all cognitive skills. It has been pointed out that once the learner knows what these objectives are, the teacher may not have much else to do other than monitor the learning process.

Assessment, to fulfill its fundamental and overridingly important role, must perform five basic functions. It must:

1. Induce accurate self-evaluation
2. Appraise all learning objectives
3. Organize teaching and learning
4. Generate records appropriate to various uses
5. Simplify reliable decision making at all levels of schooling.

Admittedly, this is perfection. We may never be able to perform all these tasks with absolute precision. For instance, if evaluation is to appraise all learning objectives, we must develop far better ways of measuring social and emotional growth in the affective domain. But we are making progress in that regard, and at least the five objectives of assessment have been stated in behavioral terms that allow us to recognize what it is that we are working toward.

A high-quality assessment program will be our best assurance that the learner, the teacher, and the educational system can constantly formulate valid objectives, plan their attainment, face successes and failures, and produce new plans as they are required.

Let us not judge learners, then, simply on what they know. To do so is to follow the philosophy of the quiz program. Rather, let learners be judged on what they can generate from what they know—how well they can bridge the gap between learning and thinking.

In the institutional mode, let the teacher, with some meaningful reference to the learner, develop specific instructional objectives for the learner. In the membership mode, let the learners, teachers, and citizens share equally in the establishment of such objectives. In the autonomous mode, let the learner fashion his own objectives with guidance from the teacher.

When the objectives have been established, publish them so that parents and citizens can understand them. When an initial learning phase is complete, report again to parents and citizens on whether or not these specific objectives have been reached.

Let the learner keep his own cumulative record of achievement. Let assessment wait upon the learner, not the learner upon assessment. Let assessment serve to correct and improve subsequent learning and teaching. Let learners be measured against a standard, not against one another. And let the standards be known to everyone concerned with the educational enterprise.

And let those who say it cannot be done at least have the courage to try it first. And perhaps explain on what basis they have been assigning grades in the past—besides whimsy.

Proper assessment brings two things to the learning transaction: (a) clear objectives, and (b) a yardstick for measuring progress toward them. Unless there is clarity and progress there is no guarantee that the student will perceive schooling as useful.

Once the whole assessment system is shifted toward what learners do instead of what learners remember, the teacher can concentrate on what the learner needs to know about his work and himself. This form of teacher behavior is called diagnostic teaching, and it implies that the learner is brought actively into the process so that he can appreciate his present status and what he still needs to do.

Process is the key word here, because the learner has been taught by traditional evaluation that content is everything. The learner has been cramped by the existing system; his own motivations have been largely ignored, and he has been alienated from knowledge of his learning self. He and his teacher must be able to explore together, enjoying their

successes and recognizing their failures, jointly planning next moves.

All of this may sound sentimental and suggest that evaluation data are of no use to anyone but the learner, and that, of course, would be the worst kind of folly. It is essential that the schools have organized data on each learner so they can report intelligently to any other institution to which the learner may transfer. Similarly, the data must be available to parents and employers. The key questions are how the most significant data for any purpose can be identified, how the reporting can be made more meaningful, and how the whole activity can be carried out in harmony with good learning and teaching.

Answers to these questions await hard developmental work; fortunately, some of that is under way among the states and the specific leadership of chiefs present at this conference and also through the National Assessment program. Improvements in process are the key to greater efficiency in education. For it is the time and talent of teachers and learners that are the high-cost items. Apprehension about rising costs will persist so long as our schools and the teaching fraternity are unable to demonstrate that their time and talent are being employed efficiently. The learning transaction must not only be more efficient; it must also *be seen* to be more efficient. To put it even more bluntly, if our schools wish to survive they must do a better job of relating costs to results. It was with that purpose in mind that the National Assessment program was organized.

National Assessment was designed to provide information on the educational attainments of American school children and young adults, indicating both progress being made and the learning problems encountered. Emphasis has been placed on gathering information about knowledge, skills, understandings, and attitude in ten subject areas from samples of ages nine, thirteen, seventeen, and twenty-six to thirty-five. National Assessment seeks to gather data not previously available and brings an innovative approach to the field of evaluation. Results are compared on neither an individual student nor a school basis, but rather by such classifications as sex, race, geographic region, type and size of community, socioeconomic status, and others.

The potential impact and role of National Assessment in the educational world is great; the importance of National Assessment is that it is a systematic gathering of information on educational outcomes in the United States. The results of

this repeated data collection in each subject area will provide information on changes over time in knowledge, skills, understandings, and attitudes. These data should prove useful for planning at the national and regional levels. In general, it is expected that the information gathered by National Assessment can lead to improved decision making throughout the entire educational structure.

The National Assessment staff, through the Department of Utilization and Applications, is prepared to lend technical assistance to those chief state school officers who wish to borrow from the National Assessment model for application to statewide evaluation needs. In my view there are six main purposes that a statewide evaluation program should serve. All of them are important, but some are perhaps more urgent than others. In brief they include the following:

1. The evaluation program should provide basic information for helping every student in the state assess his own progress so that he can become increasingly mature in understanding himself, his educational needs, and his future possibilities.

2. The program should provide the teachers and administrators in every school system with basic information for assessing the effectiveness of all phases of their educational programs and in sufficient detail to indicate the specific steps required for continually strengthening those programs.

3. Statewide assessment should provide the state education authority with basic information needed for allocating state funds and for the development of professional services in a manner best calculated to equalize educational opportunities for all children in all school systems of the state.

4. The state program should provide research agencies at both the state and local levels with data for generating and testing hypotheses concerning the improvement of all aspects of the learning process.

5. Statewide assessment should provide every school system with strong incentives to experiment, under controlled conditions, with new and promising educational programs, materials, devices, and organizational arrangements.

6. The state assessment program should periodically provide the state legislature and the general public with readily understandable information concerning the progress of the state system of education as a whole and of each local system. This means far more than administering standardized achievement tests and publishing the results. The use of stand-

ardized achievement tests, as presently conceived, simply disturbs the whole process of learning. They inhibit learners, restrict teachers, perpetuate corrosive and artificial subject and program distinctions, and subvert the more meaningful goals of education. So in the development of state assessment models the intent ought not to be to develop a new tyranny that would merely replace the old but rather to devise a system that will enable most students to master what is expected of them. The problem, of course, is to find the right way.

The National Assessment model offers some exciting possibilities. It is time for greater numbers of chief state school officers to join in its development and its application at the state level. If my sense of direction is valid and if current forecasts are accurate, that task can and will be done. The future system of education at the state level will have a constantly increasing supply of sophisticated tools, such as computers, and sophisticated personnel, including systems analysts and behavioral scientists. The present evaluative barriers and complexities which may now look insurmountable will soon be easier to surmount.

In Closing

Complete and concise summation of the materials that appear in the preceding sections of this report would be impossible. Each presenter spoke clearly and effectively to his assigned topic, but no consensus was desired or achieved. That was not the purpose of the Institute.

Rather, issues were explored, pressures and problems were described, and alternatives for state action were examined critically. Out of these activities there appeared to emerge a conviction that understanding and managing state education systems requires not only a thorough knowledge of formal governance structure but also an appreciation of the vectoring forces which impinge on them. Both the *structure* and the *vectors*, therefore, are integral aspects of the governance of state education systems.